DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 452 700 FL 026 672

AUTHOR	Daniel-White, Kimberly, Ed.
TITLE	Working Papers in Educational Linguistics, 2000.
INSTITUTION	Pennsylvania Univ., Philadelphia. Graduate School of Education.
PUB DATE	2000-09-00
NOTE	102p.; Published twice per year. Additional editors are Cristi Alberino, Jennifer Freeman, Mark Ouellette, Anglie Reyes, and Diana Schwinge. For related document, see FL 026 673-677.
AVAILABLE FROM	Working Papers in Educational Linguistics, Language in Education Division A-12, Graduate School of Education, University of Pennsylvania, 3700 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, PA 19104 ($8 per issue). Tel: 215-898-3288; Fax: 215-573-2109; e-mail: wpel@gse.upenn.edu; Web site: http://www.gse.upenn.edu/wpel/.
PUB TYPE	Collected Works - Serials (022)
JOURNAL CIT	Working Papers in Educational Linguistics; v16 n2 Fall 2000
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC05 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	*Applied Linguistics; Bilingual Education; Class Activities; Elementary Secondary Education; English for Special Purposes; English (Second Language); Grammar; Higher Education; Language Planning; Literacy; Second Language Instruction; Second Language Learning; Speech Acts

ABSTRACT

The goal of Working papers in Educational Linguistics (WPEL) is to present works in progress by students and professors on topics ranging from speech act analysis and classroom discourse to language planning and second language acquisition. Papers offered are generally based on research carried out for courses offered in the language in education division of the graduate school of education. WPEL is intended to be a forum for the exchange of ideas among scholars of linguistics at the University of Pennsylvania and at universities with similar programs in educational and applied linguistics around the world. Articles in this issue include the following: "Teacher and Peer Responses as a Source of Negative Evidence to L2 Learners in Content-Based and Grammar-Based Classroom Activities" (Teresa Pica, Bruce Evans, Victoria Jo, and Gay Washburn); "EFL Teaching and EFL Teachers in the Global Expansion of English" (Oleg Tarnapolsky); "Standards, Exit Exams, and the Politicization of Bilingual Education: The Writing Exit Exam at Hostos College" (Diana Schwinge); "Participant Framework in Tutor Training" (Tamara Shane Sniad); and "Literacy Development through Content-Based Instruction: A Case Study" (Nicole Papai). (KFT)

Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made
from the original document.

ED 452 700

Working Papers in Educational Linguistics, 2000

Kimberly Daniel-White, Editor

Volume 16, Number 2

U S DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

- ❑ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it
- ❑ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy

PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE AND DISSEMINATE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

C. Donnelly

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

1

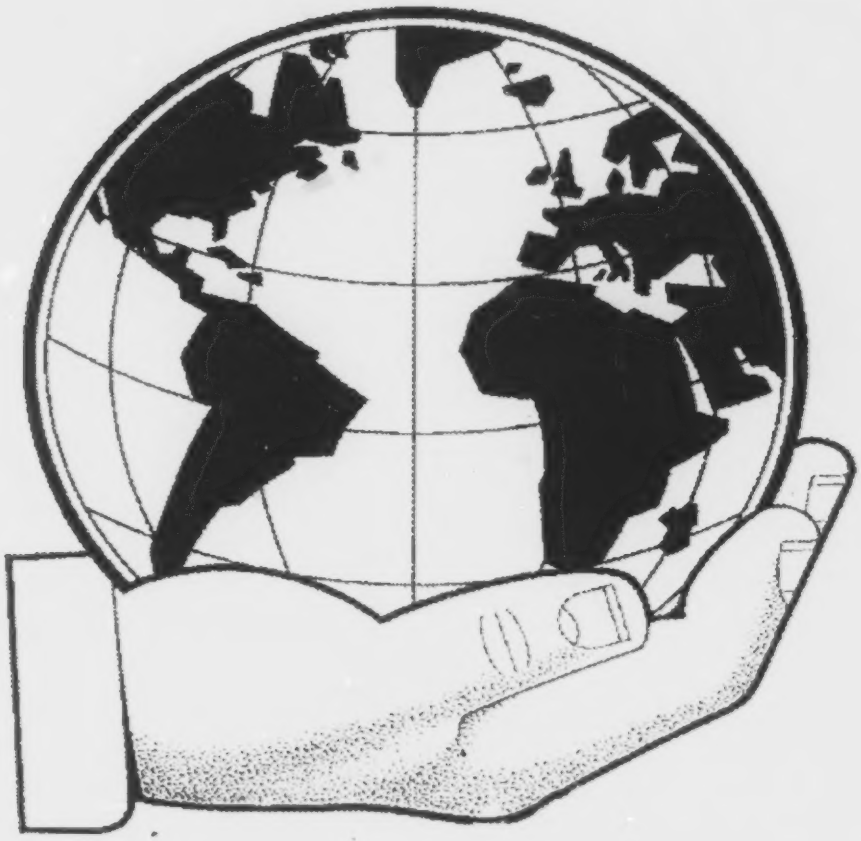
FL 026 672

2

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

WORKING PAPERS IN EDUCATIONAL LINGUISTICS

University of Pennsylvania Graduate School of Education



WORKING PAPERS IN EDUCATIONAL LINGUISTICS

Editor-in-Chief Kimberly Daniel-White

Editors
Cristi Alberino
Jennifer Freeman
Mark Ouellette
Angie Reyes
Diana Schwinge

Faculty Advisor Nancy Hornberger

Language in Education Division
Graduate School of Education
University of Pennsylvania

Division Faculty
Susan Lytle, Chair
Morton Botel
Vivian Gadsden
Nancy Hornberger
Teresa Pica
Lawrence Sipe

Division Programs
TESOL
Educational Linguistics
Reading/Writing/Literacy
Intercultural Communication

WORKING PAPERS IN EDUCATIONAL LINGUISTICS

Volume 16, Number 2 **Fall 2000**

Contents

Teacher and Peer Responses as a Source of Negative Evidence to L2 Learners in Content-Based and Grammar-Based Classroom Activities
Teresa Pica, Bruce Evans, Victoria Jo, and Gay Washburn 1

EFL Teaching and EFL Teachers in the Global Expansion of English
Oleg Tarnapolsky 25

Standards, Exit Exams, and the Politicization of Bilingual Education: The Writing Exit Exam at Hostos College
Diana Schwinge 43

Participant Framework in Tutor Training
Tamara Shane Snaid 63

Literacy Development through Content Based Instruction: A Case Study
Nicole Papai 81

Dear WPEL readers,

We are proud to bring you the latest issue of the University of Pennsylvania's *Working Papers in Education Linguistics*. The work contained in this collection represents the diverse interests and research projects of the students and faculty associated with the Language in Education Division.

Our mission is to share the current and on-going work of our students and faculty with our worldwide readership. We also aim to work with our contributors to make their "working papers" into scholarly articles ready for publication.

In this issue:

Teresa Pica, Bruce Evans, Victoria Jo, and Gay Washburn compare the use of negative evidence in content-based and grammar based classrooms and suggest that classroom feedback might be enhaced by the addition of interactive tasks.

Oleg Tarnapolsky discusses the advantages of non-native English speaking teachers in English as a Foreign Language classrooms, and suggests ways to help them meet the challenges that they face.

Diana Schwinge evaluates the implementation of the writing exit exam at Hostos Community College in New York City and discusses the covert agendas and implicit ideologies of the actors in this language policy case.

Tamara Sniad analyzes the discourse strategies used in tutor training sessions showing the conflict between creating interactive training sessions and providing tutors with the information they need to do their jobs.

Nicole Papai provides a case study showing the complexity of utilizing content-based instruction in a pull-out ESL classroom showing how the teacher rejects stereotypes about ESL students.

In addition to our advisor, Nancy Hornberger, we gratefully acknowledge the following individuals whose help and cooperation made this publication possible: Penny Creedon, Lorraine Hightower, Suzanne Oh and Karen O'Boyle.

We hope that you find the following contributions as engaging and worthy of scholarly interest as we have.

The editors

Teacher and Peer Responses as a Source of Negative Evidence to L2 Learners in Content-Based and Grammar-Based Classroom Activities

Teresa Pica, Bruce Evans, and Victoria Jo

University of Pennsylvania

Gay N. Washburn

Syracuse University

After many years of attention to input that supplies classroom second language (L2) learners with positive evidence on L2 forms and features, recent studies have begun to identify and describe the negative evidence in "reactive" input, provided through interlocutor responses to forms and features that are used by learners, but are not consistent with the L2 they are learning. The following study was undertaken to compare the negative evidence in responses to learners in two types of classrooms, one content-based, the other, grammar-based. Data were collected on teacher and peer responses to learners' non-target productions during six discussions about culture and six exercises in sentence construction, as these were the predominant activities in the two classroom types.

Results of the study revealed teacher, rather than peer, responses as the principal source of negative evidence in both classroom types. In the responses of content-based discussions, there was a low incidence of what was primarily, implicit negative evidence, despite a relatively high proportion of learner non-target utterances. This was because most of the non-target utterances were produced in meaningful, multi-utterance texts, which could be understood with minimal intervention by teachers or peers. In comparison, the grammar-based sentence construction exercises revealed a higher incidence of teacher intervention and negative evidence. These were located in responses to learners' single utterance, short answers to teacher questions and prompts. Implicit negative evidence also predominated, but there was a significant proportion of explicit negative evidence as well.

The differences in negative evidence in the two classroom types appeared to be an outcome of the expectations and goals of the discussion and sentence construction activities, and also suggested ways in which these activities might be adjusted, or enhanced, to provide learners with negative evidence through the addition of interactive tasks.

Input and Evidence in Second Language Learning

That second language (L2) learners need input for their learning is fundamental to second language acquisition theory and language pedagogy. Research over the past two decades has addressed questions about the exact form and content of the input that learners need, and its degrees of frequency and timing in the learning process. (See Ellis 1994; Gass & Selinker 1994; Lightbown & Spada 1999; Long 1996; Pica 1994, and Swain 1995 for syntheses of this work). More recently, new questions have emerged about the input needed by second language (L2) learners. These have focused on the evidence they require about the forms and features of the L2 they are learning.

Long has addressed these questions in terms of the positive and negative evidence available in input. By drawing from first language learning theory and research (including Farrar 1990, 1992; Nelson 1977; and Pinker 1989, for example) and from studies of L2 classroom intervention (such as those of Spada & Lightbown 1993; White 1991; and White, Spada, Lightbown & Ranta 1991), he distinguished between input that provides positive evidence of forms and features that comply with those of the L2, and input that supplies negative evidence on forms and features that are used by learners, but are not consistent with the L2 they are learning. (For a comprehensive review, see Long 1996).

Both positive and negative evidence can be made available through formal rule instruction, grammar texts, and other related resources. However, one of the most effective ways in which evidence can be revealed to learners is through what Long called 'reactive' input, provided through interlocutor responses to learner imprecisions within the context of meaningful interaction. This is particularly the case for negative evidence. In situating their questions and examining their findings within this perspective, Long and other researchers have both underscored the importance of input that offers positive L2 evidence, and shed light on the contributions of 'reactive' input that supplies negative evidence to the learning process. (See for example, a review article by Spada 1997, and research of Doughty & Varela 1998; Lightbown 1993; Lightbown & Spada 1997; Long, Inagaki, & Ortega 1998; Long & Robinson 1998; Lyster 1998; Lyster & Ranta 1997; Mackey & Philp 1998; Oliver 1995; and again, Spada & Lightbown 1993; White 1991; and White, Spada, Lightbown & Ranta 1991).

This small sample represents a larger pool of studies whose findings have shed light on the diversity of evidence available in input to learners and on the expanded role of responses to learners as a vehicle for such input. They further illustrate the role of meaningful interaction in the learning process, and suggest the need to examine the classroom environment in such terms. The following section will review the distinguishing characteristics of positive and negative evidence that have been identified and described in these studies, and will illustrate how this work has motivated the present investigation into classroom responses to learners as sources of negative evidence.

Positive and Negative Evidence

According to Long, positive L2 evidence is found in utterances and texts available in input to learners during their interaction with interlocutors. As illustrated in Figure 1, these samples of input can occur in their authentic, unaltered state, as in (1a), or they can be modified when they cannot be understood by the learner, as illustrated in (1a) - (1e). As shown in underlined form, individual target productions of words or phrases might be extracted by interlocutors from their original utterances, and provided in follow up utterances either in isolation, as in (1b) or embedded in longer units, as in (1c). Words and phrases might be repeated, or rephrased, with pronoun substitutions, and definitions and examples added to them, as shown in underlined bold in (1c) - (1f).

Figure 1

English L2 Learner	NS English Interlocutor
When is the class?	(1a) The class begins at two
I don't understand	(1b) at two
	(1c) About the class, **it** begins at two.
	(1d) **It** begins at two.
	(1e) **It** begins **exactly** at two o'clock.
	(1f) Ah the class on film begins at 2.

These kinds of adjustments not only assist learners in their comprehension of L2 input, but also allow them additional, more focused, opportunities to attend to L2 forms which encode meanings and functions in the input. (See also Pica 1994). Together, authentic and modified input are believed to provide much of the positive, linguistic evidence needed for L2 learning. Yet, as Long (1996) has pointed out, such input is an insufficient source of evidence for learners. First, learners may not notice L2 forms and features that are difficult, complex, or highly similar to their L1, even when they are encoded in modified input. Secondly, they might not notice the difference between target versions of L2 forms and features in the input and their own erroneous interlanguage versions of them. This is especially the case if they have internalized inaccurate versions of L2 forms and features, especially those that are functionally adequate for communicative purposes. (See also Doughty & Williams 1998 and Schmidt 1990).

To help learners access, and eventually internalize, target versions of L2 forms, negative evidence about what is NOT in the L2 can be especially useful. Such evidence can help learners notice differences between developmental features of their interlanguage and target features of the L2 (See again, Schmidt 1990 for data and discussion). Negative evidence can keep learners from stabilizing erroneous, developmental forms and features in their interlanguage, or can help them destabilize errors should such a point of stabilization have already occurred.

That negative evidence can be provided through formal instruction and corrective feedback has long been documented in classroom studies (See

research and review of research in Chaudron 1977 and 1988). What is remarkable, however, as illustrated in Long's construct of "reactive input," is its abundance in responses to learners during conversational interaction. Examples of such responses are provided below, in Figure 2.

As shown in italics in Figure 2, items (2a) - (2f), conversational responses can offer learners implicit negative evidence through statements and questions regarding the responder's need for message comprehensibility, clarification, and confirmation. Often, target L2 versions of errorful words and phrases are included, as is the case for begins in (2d) - (2f). Researchers have referred to such responses as signals for the negotiation of meaning (See Long 1985, 1996; Gass & Varonis 1989, 1994; and Pica 1988, 1994) and signals for the negotiation of form (See Lyster 1998, and Lyster & Ranta 1997).

Other responses, such as (2g) and (2h), expand or recast erroneous utterances, replacing them with L2 versions. They, too, offer implicit negative evidence, alerting learners subtly to imprecisions in the meaning of their messages, as they recode erroneous forms within them. As such, they function quite differently from the responses of (2i) - (2k), which also recode erroneous forms, but do so through explicit correction and instructional, metalinguistic input.

Figure 2

English L2 Learner	NNS English Interlocutor
The class begin on two.	(2a) I didn't understand
	(2b) What did you say?
	(2c) What's the class?
	(2d) The class *begins* when?
	(2e) It *begins* when?
	(2f) It *begins at* what time?
	(2g) Ah the class on film *begins at* two
	(2h) The class *begins at two*
	(2i) *You need to say that* the class *begins at* two
	(2j) *You need to add -s to begin*
	(2k) *Class is singular. So you need to make begin agree with it*

As the above examples illustrate, negative evidence about L2 form and meaning can be made available to L2 learners across a range of functionally diverse responses, with varying degrees of explicitness. Whether such availability and variation are also apparent in the classroom was the focus of the following study. This study aimed to describe and compare responses of negative evidence in two types of classrooms — those whose underlying curriculum, materials, and activities emphasized L2 communication and academic content and those which emphasized the application of rules and formal accuracy. Specific concerns focused on similarities and differences in the classrooms with respect to the extent to which negative evidence was offered in responses to learners' non-target productions; was provided by teachers or peers; and was encoded in an implicit or explicit manner.

These concerns were heightened by the current post method period of L2

teaching, in which teachers, curriculum planners, and other language educators might choose from a range of pedagogical options in guiding the acquisition of L2 form and function. (See discussion in Kumaravadivelu 1994 and Pica 2000). A further influence was the tendency toward offering specialized and elective courses, particularly at the university level. Such specialization suggested that negative evidence may be represented very differently to learners, depending on the types of classes they take.

In its focus on the incidence and features of negative evidence across two different types of classroom contexts, the study was also informed by the growing body of research that has connected negative evidence, classroom tasks, and learning outcomes. (See, for example, Doughty and Varela 1998; Lightbown and Spada 1990; Lyster 1998; Lyster and Ranta 1997; Oliver 1995, 2000). This made it essential to identify specific classroom activities within each context as a basis for analysis. These methodological matters are discussed in the following section, which includes a description of the classroom contexts, participants, and classroom activities of the study.

Method

Classroom Contexts

Data for the two types of classroom contexts were gathered in an intensive, university based English language institute. The classes, which were drawn from courses in content and grammar, met in one to two hour blocks of time four to five times a week, over a seven week period.

Six content-based class meetings were studied. Three of the classes focused on literature and culture, as students read and responded to American English literary texts. The other three classes focused on film and American culture, and used tapes of recent U.S. movies as its a basis for its content. Their primary objective was to promote the learning of English L2 and knowledge about American cultures. Each content-based class had access to a detailed curriculum guide, which was the outcome of efforts among curriculum developers, various course instructors, and language institute directors. Both the literature and film curricula emphasized a range of interactional activities among teachers and students, including class discussion, dialogue journals, student group work, at home projects and reading, and in-class presentation. Grammar lessons were provided as the teachers deemed necessary, both in class, and in feedback on homework assignments.

Six grammar-based class meetings were also studied. Four of the classes were at an intermediate level, and two were at an advanced level. Both held as their primary objective the understanding, application, and development of rules and structures of English grammar. Each class had access to a detailed curriculum guide, which emphasized interaction among teachers and students, using grammar in meaningful contexts, and homework preparation for

class activities.

Participants

There were three content based and three grammar-based teachers, all with relevant professional training and experience, ranging from exceptional to appropriate and sufficient. Two of the content-based teachers and two of the grammar-based teachers had specific training and education in applied linguistics and experience with the curriculum they were teaching. The other two teachers were less experienced, but considered highly qualified to teach their respective areas.

The students were at advanced and high intermediate levels of English L2 development. In the literature class, a wide range of Asian and European L1 backgrounds and ethnicities was represented. Students in the film and grammar classes were predominantly of Asian L1 backgrounds and ethnicities. There were ten to fifteen students per class.

Results of placement and proficiency tests, as well as reports and observations of teachers and program administrators, revealed an overall level of communicative proficiency for students consistent with their level placements. Despite their overall level of communicative proficiency, however, the students also revealed grammatical imprecisions and inconsistencies in their expression of reference, modality, and information structure, as seen in their article over-, and under-suppliance, inappropriate verb tense and aspect marking, and modal mis-selection. Some of these imprecisions were addressed explicitly in the grammar courses. In the content-based courses, these features were not emphasized directly in the curricula, but were believed to be widely available in oral and written classroom input and could be addressed in individual classes if deemed necessary by the individual teacher.

Data Collection

Data collection was carried out through audio and video taping. In the content-based classes, data were collected during teacher-directed discussions of literary texts and film, which were based on preparation through homework reading assignments, previewing, and re-viewing. The activities used to gather data on the grammar-based classes were teacher-led sentence construction exercises, often based on homework as well. They varied from half to three-fourths of each class meeting time, as other portions of class time were used for classroom management and, in the case of the content-based classes, periodic text re-reading or film re-viewing to support opinions and answers. Both activities were chosen as primary units for data collection and analysis because of their frequency of occurrence, uniformity of interactional structure, and repeated use in the classrooms under study, as revealed during several months of prior classroom observation.

The discussion activity focused on exchange of information, opinions and cultural insights into the text or film content. These were chosen at random

from a sample of more than thirty such activities, each initiated through framing utterances such as, "I'd like to talk about..." or "Let's go on to... ." This framing utterance served as the initial boundary for the activity. The final boundary was marked either by the end of the class meeting or a teacher utterance such as, "OK, let's move on to..."

The sentence construction exercises required student application of specific grammar structures to prompts from the teacher or text. The purpose of this activity was to create what were considered correct sentences by filling in the blanks in sentence exercises, responding to a stimulus picture or text, or forming sentences by type. These activities were identified not only by these features, but also in the ways they were introduced by the teachers through structuring remarks such as "Your assignment for today was to...," "let's go over those," or "Let me just play a little game for a minute..." "So I want to practice..."

Data Coding and Analysis

All data from the discussion and exercise activities were first coded for teacher and student utterances. Random samples of the data were coded by the researcher and trained coders, each with backgrounds in applied linguistics. Inter-item reliability was .98 for utterances, and ranged between .80 and .99, for features of negative evidence and other features, whose operationalization, coding, and computing appear in the list which follows.

1. Learner non-target productions: These were student-produced utterances that did not conform to target relationships of L2 form, function, and meaning. Computations were made of their frequency and proportion to the total frequency of learner utterances.

2. Teacher and Peer responses that followed learner non-target productions. These were utterances that followed immediately after learner non-target utterances. Computations were made of their frequency and proportion to the total frequency of learner non-target utterances. A breakdown appears in 2a-c, below.

2a. Teacher and Peer response utterances that supplied implicit negative evidence through indirect reference to non target form-meaning relationships in the learner utterances that preceded them. Included in this category were the following:

2a1. Negotiation signals: Responses that indicated difficulty with clarity, comprehensibility and completeness of a non-target utterance, and/or requested clarification or confirmation thereof.

2a2. Recasts: Responses that recast a non-target utterance, simultaneously modifying one or more non-target features, but preserving message meaning.

2b. Teacher and Peer response utterances that supplied explicit negative evidence through direct reference to non target form-meaning relationships in the learner utterances that preceded them. Included in this category were utterances that filled the following functions:

2b1. Responses of corrective feedback through a correct version of all or part of a non-target utterance.

2b2. Responses of rejection or negative evaluation that indicated that a non-target utterance was incorrect or not quite right or that learner should try again.

2b3. Responses that supplied metalinguistic information/explanation, applied for example, to a description and/or explanation for a non-target utterance.

2c. Other response utterances from teachers and peers, including utterances of back channeling, topic continuation/switch, agreement, and approval.

3. Contexts for response utterances that followed learner non-target utterances, but for which no response was offered, i.e., contexts in which the learner produced a non-target utterance and continued speaking.

The following are illustrations of the coding, many of which have been drawn from the utterances shown in Figure (2) above:

Figure 3

Learner Non-Target Utterance	Types of Utterances of Response with Negative Evidence		Examples
The class begin on two	2a	**Implicit Negative Evidence:**	
	2a1.	Negotiation Signals	
		Signal Indicating Lack of Comprehension	I don't follow
		Clarification Seeking Signal	The class begins when
		Confirmation Seeking Signal	The class begins at two?
	2a2.	Recast	The class begins at two
	2b.	**Explicit Negative Evidence:**	
	2b1.	Corrective Feedback Utterance(s)	You need to say that the class begins at two
	2b2.	Rejection/Negative Evaluation Utterance(s)	You said that incorrectly
	2b3.	Utterances with Suppliance of Metalinguistic Information/Explanation	Class is singular. So you need to make begin agree with it
	2c.	**Other utterances of Response:**	
		Back Channel	uh huh
		Topic Continuation/ Switch	So what are you doing after class?
		Agreement	Yes, I know that
		Approval	It's kind of you to let me know
The class begin on two	3.	**No Response**	ø
The class end at four. After that I study			ø

Results

Analysis of the data revealed both similarities and differences in the negative evidence offered to learners in the content-based and grammar-based activities. The extent of the negative evidence in responses to learners' non-target productions was found to be significantly greater during the grammar-based exercises than the content-based discussion. However, the pattern of suppliance of negative evidence was essentially the same, as negative evidence was supplied more consistently in responses to students' single utterance productions than their multi utterance contributions. This pattern was more readily obtained in the sentence construction activities of the grammar-based classroom than the opinion and reflection oriented discussions of the content-based classroom. Implicit negative evidence prevailed in both types of classroom activities. However, there was a significantly greater proportion of explicit to implicit negative evidence in the grammar-based classroom. Teacher responses were shown to be a significantly more consistent source of negative evidence to learners than their peers. As such, they provided implicit negative evidence in the form of signals and requests for comprehensibility and clarification. These results are further described and analyzed below.

Extent of Negative Evidence

As shown in Table 1, negative evidence was available in 79, or 29 percent of the response utterances to students' non-target productions during content-based discussion. This figure was significantly higher in the grammar-based exercises, where 145 or 70 percent of response utterances offered negative evidence. ($X2 = 79.86$, d.f.=1, $p< .05$). In both classroom types, the remaining, "other" responses to students' non-target productions did not provide negative evidence, but were encoded as backchannels, acknowledgments to comments, follow-up questions, and topic continuation moves.

Table 1
Frequency and Proportion of Utterances with Negative Evidence in Response to Learners' Non-Target Utterances

	Content-Based Discussion		Grammar-Based Exercises		Totals	
	n	% Response Utterances	n	% Response Utterances	n	% Response Utterances
Response Utterances with Negative Evidence	79	29%	145	70%	224	47%
Other Response Utterances	189	71%	61	30%	250	53%
Total Response	268		206		474	

Utterances

There were many more student non-target utterances than there were responses of any kind in the content-based discussions. Thus, as shown in Table 2, of the 483 non-target utterances that the students produced during content based discussion, only 268, or 55 percent of them, were followed by one or more response utterances, whereas 215, or 45 percent, received no response utterances at all. On the other hand, during sentence construction, 206, or 95 percent, of students' non-target utterances were followed by one or more response utterances. These differences were significant ($X2 = 108.37$, d.f. = 1, $p<.05$). Together with the data on "other" responses from Table 1, these findings indicated that the students received a modest amount of negative evidence on their L2 non-target production during content-based discussion and a substantial, consistent amount during grammar-based sentence construction.

Table 2
Frequency and Proportion of L2 Learner Non-Target Utterances with and without following Response Utterances

	Content-Based Discussion		Grammar-Based Exercises		Totals	
	n	% Response Utterances	N	% Response Utterances	n	% Response Utterances
Learner Non-Target Utterances Followed by One or More Response Utterances	268	55%	206	95%	474	68%
Learner Non-Target Utterances Followed by No Response Utterances	215	45%	11	5%	226	32%
Total Learner Non-Target Utterances	483		217		700	

Patterns of Suppliance of Negative Evidence

The patterns of suppliance of negative evidence were essentially the same in the content-based discussion and the grammar-based sentence construction, in that negative evidence was supplied more consistently immediately after students' single utterance answers than during their multi utterance contributions. The grammar-based exercises were far more conducive than the content-based discussion to single utterance contributions in that students were asked to provide short answers to sentence starters and prompts. In the content based discussion, on the other hand, they were asked to summarize stories, describe characters, and share opinions and ideas.

This contrast can be seen in Excerpts (1) and (2) as compared with Excerpt (3), below. The student's response to a teacher question in a sentence completion task in Excerpt (1) and the student's completion of a teacher elicitation in Excerpt (2), generated immediate, recast responses by the teacher. The teacher request for a "thumbnail sketch" about the movie, "Stand and Deliver." in Excerpt (3) led to fluent reflections on the part of the student. The teacher responded with backchannelling, agreement, and approval. In so doing, the teacher's responses focused on message meaning, but overlooked inconsistencies in agreement, tense marking, and noun phrase morphology in the student's contributions.

Excerpt 1

Teacher	**Student**
	ah, I wrote it
you read it?	the title in Polish is different
(Grammar-based exercise)	

Excerpt 2

Teacher	**Student**
there's another conflict in the mother. something else is- the mother is thinking a lot about *going back to China is one thing*	go back China
(Content-based discussion)	

Excerpt 3

Teacher	**Student**
give me a thumbnail— give me a thumbnail sketch	
aah uh-huh, uh-huh	the second one is, eh, the teacher give him, gives him enough time and encouraged him like Patricia said, the teacher give him enough uh
ah	space to let him to feel he can do good that's the most important two points for him and also he pay more attention to uh I mean the teacher pay more attention to Angel — he's one of a closest students of him and he he, the teacher prevents the fighting between Angel and other students that
yeah yeah	xxx teacher if they would ask question he would give ninety nine percent point
yeah yeah, that's right that's right	
(Content-based discussion)	

As shown in Table 3, response utterances of negative evidence were much more likely when learner non-target utterances occurred in single, independent contributions of learners. Thus, in the grammar-based exercises, which by design, promoted production of single utterance sentence completions, 89 percent of the responses of negative evidence occurred in relation to single independent utterance contributions of students.

In content-based discussions, 66 percent of responses with negative evidence occurred when learners made single utterance contributions. Only 18 percent of such responses occurred in the middle of a student contribution of two or more utterances, and only 16 percent occurred at the end of a student contribution of two or more utterances. As illustrated in boldface, in Excerpt 4, which follows Table 3, the response to a student's meaningful, but grammatically non-target, text in the content class was more typically a topic related move than a message that offered negative evidence.

Table 3
Frequency and Distribution of Response Utterances with Negative Evidence to Learner Non-Target Utterances in Relation to Discourse Context in Content-Based vs. Grammar-Based Classrooms

Context of Learner Non-Target Utterance	Content-Based Discussion n Response Utterances with Negative Evidence	Content-Based Discussion % Response Utterances with Negative Evidence	Grammar-Based Exercises n Response Utterances with Negative Evidence	Grammar-Based Exercises % Response Utterances with Negative Evidence	Totals n Response Utterances with Negative Evidence
Independent Utterance	52	66%	129	89%	181
Text Initial/ Medial Utterance	14	18%	9	6%	23
Text Final Utterance	13	16%	7	5%	20
Totals	79		145		224

Excerpt 4

Teacher	Student
	the daughter have a pretty good but she also hope to get married but she think about her mother. so they are worried__ each other you know so they pretend they think they really have a good life
mm-hmm	at that time
mm-hmm	but when the her mother go to China back and her mother change change his un thinking and being and then
	uh her daughter think that then she can get married and her mother can *independ* on others
really? I had a very different point of view	

(Content-based discussion)

Just as the larger, discourse pattern which extended across utterances revealed a pattern in responses with negative evidence, a pattern was also evident within utterances. Within content-based discussion there was a tendency toward more frequent suppliance of negative evidence in responses that followed learner utterances with only one non-target feature compared to those with two or more non-target features. As shown in Table 4, of the 79 total response utterances with negative evidence to learners' non-target productions, 61 percent were provided to utterances which had one non-target feature, and 39 percent were provided to utterances of two or more non-target features. This difference was significant ($X2 = 34.60$, d.f. = 1, $p<.05$).

Table 4
Frequency and Distribution of Response Utterances with Negative Evidence in Relation to Number of Non-Target Features in Learner Utterances in Content-based Discussion

	Learner Non-Target Utterances with 1 Non-Target Feature		Learner Non-Target Utterances with 2+ Non-Target Features		Totals
	n	%	N	%	n
Response Utterances with Negative Evidence	48	61%	31	39%	79
Other Response Utterances	124	66%	65	34%	189
Total Response Utterances	172	64%	96	36%	268

Features of Negative Evidence: Implicitness vs. Explicitness:

Table 5 provides a breakdown of findings on implicit and explicit negative evidence with respect to students' non-target L2 productions. There was a far greater proportion of implicit to explicit negative evidence in both classrooms. As shown in Table 5, there were 68 response utterances that provided implicit negative evidence during discussion, and 118 such utterances during the grammar-based exercises. These figures constituted a respective 86 and 81 percent of the total number of utterances with negative evidence. Explicit negative evidence constituted 14 percent of the utterances with negative evidence in discussion and 19 percent in the exercises. No significant difference in the distribution of implicit to explicit evidence in the two types of activities was found. ($X2 = .50$, $df= 1$, $p> .05$). Thus implicit negative evidence was the predominant way to encode responses to students' non-target productions.

Table 5
Frequencies and Proportions of Implicit and Explicit Negative Evidence in Responses to L2 Learners' Non-Target Utterances

	Content-Based Discussion		Grammar-Based Exercises		Totals	
	n	% Response	n	% Response	n	% Response
Non-Target L2 Productions						
Response Utterances with Implicit Negative Evidence	68	86%	118	81%	186	83%
Response Utterances with Explicit Negative Evidence	11	14%	27	19%	38	17%
Total	79	35%	145	65%	224	100%

Implicit negative evidence was supplied primarily through signals of lack of comprehension and confirmation seeking signals. This is illustrated in italics in excerpts (5) and (6), below:

Excerpt 5

Teacher	Student
What do you think about this story? Is there anything interesting for you?	Yes. I want to tell something... I think uh in this club in the playing clubs reflects uh human life is a because
ok I didn't quite understand the what, the plain clothes?	playing club, club, club
club?	yeah
club?	in this club
OK	
(Content-based discussion)	

Excerpt 6

Teacher	Student
	my mansion is more (concrete) than the horse
huh? Complete?	
(Grammar-based exercise)	

Recasts were found in responses in both types of activities, as shown in italics in excerpts (7) through (9) below. Most of the recasts included repetition or segmentation of student utterances. For example, in (8) and (9) the teacher segments "phase of life" and "expensive," then recasts them with the grammatical features consistent with the student's target. Excerpt (7), however, is recast as an expansion of the student's utterance, as the teacher embeds the student's utterance in a complex clausal construction.

Excerpt 7

Teacher	Student
	tells him your mother back soon
OK, yeah, he tells him that, uh, his mother will be back soon	
(Content-based discussion)	

Excerpt 8

Teacher	Student
	it seems to me like the story about the phase of life or
mm-hm. *it could be in "Phases of Life."*	
(Content-based discussion)	

Excerpt 9

Teacher	Student
	my mansion is expensive...than your camera
more expensive	

(Grammar-based exercise)

Explicit negative evidence, supplied through corrective feedback, explicit rejection, negative evaluation, and metalinguistic information is shown in italics in excerpts (10) and (11), as the teacher provides information about correct L2 use.

Excerpt 10

Teacher	Students
wh-wh-that's the right meaning but what's the right word? anybody know?	the something was too slow
and its re eh?	(process)
it starts with P that's good	
we're getting there	
yeah one that equals 'steps.'	
anybody?	to talk about the point? point
no, huh-uh	pace
got it? OK	yes

(Content-based discussion)

Excerpt 11

Teacher	Student
	report
reported on, or you could have	
since it's recent, has reported	

(Grammar-based exercise)

Finally, the grammar-based exercises also revealed a distinctive utterance response of re-elicitation, which was not found during content discussion, whereby students were given prompts to encourage completion of their messages. Twelve such utterances were found in the data. Although this type of response had not been considered as a coding category the original framework for the study, it appeared to serve as a implicit form of negative evidence. An example from the data is shown in excerpt (12) below:

Excerpt 12

Teacher	Student
	what did he wrote?
what did he...	write
	what, what wrote Cervantes?
what	what did Cervantes write?
(Grammar-based exercise)	

Teachers and Peers as Sources of Negative Evidence:

As revealed in Table 6, negative evidence to students' non-target productions was provided in a far greater amount from teachers than peers. As shown in Table 6, teachers supplied 78 of the 79 response utterances with negative evidence during the content-based discussion, and 87% of such utterances during grammar-based exercises. The pattern of teacher dominance held for all "other" responses to students' non-target productions as well, although peer responses were more apparent in this category, constituting 12 percent of the total responses in the content-based discussions and 7 percent in the grammar exercises. Thus, in the content-based classroom, peers responded to their classmates' non-target utterances, but did not to do so with negative evidence. In the grammar-based classroom, where suppliance of appropriate forms was the focus of the exercise, peers did so more readily, although still not to the same degree as the teacher.

These results are very likely related to the teacher-led design and implementation of both activities of the study. They also suggest that peers may not have perceived themselves as helpful or necessary as a source of negative evidence for the two activities. In open ended discussions, there is great latitude and redundancy in what needs to be said or understood. Transmission of negative evidence on formal inconsistencies is required only insofar as it interferes with message meaning. Given the expectations of preparation and familiarity of the students with film and story content prior to their discussion, it is likely that only with respect to the content itself would they seek clarification. For the sentence construction, the rates of student suppliance of negative evidence are higher. However, despite encouragement to focus on form, they might have believed that the kinds of formal precision required were best monitored by the their teachers' knowledge and training rather than their own evolving proficiency in this area.

Table 6
Frequencies and Distribution of Teacher and Peer Response Utterances to Student Non-target Utterances

	n	% Response Utterances with Negative Evidence	% Total Response Utterances	n	% Response Utterances with Negative Evidence	% Total Response Utterances
Response Utterances with Negative Evidence						
Teacher	78	99%	30%	124	87%	61%
Peer	1	1%	0%	21	13%	10%
Response Utterances with Implicit Negative Evidence on Non-Target Form-Meaning Relationships						
Teacher	67	85%	25%	100	69%	49%
Peer	1	1%	1%	18	12%	9%
Response Utterances with Explicit Negative Evidence on Non-Target Form-Meaning Relationships						
Teacher	11	14%	4%	24	17%	2%
Peer	0	0%	0%	3	2%	1%
Response Utterances with backchannel, topic acceptance, topic continuation, topic switch						
Teacher	157		59%	46		22%
Peer	32		12%	15		7%
Total Response Utterances	268		100%	206		100%
Teacher	235		88%	170		82%
Peer	33		12%	36		18%

Summary, Conclusions, and Implications

The questions and concerns of this study are situated within a long standing line of research on input to learners as a source of linguistic data for L2 learning. Most of this research has been centered on the ways in which input can be modified to promote message comprehensibility and provide positive evidence of L2 forms and features. In recent years, input research has also considered the ways in which interlocutor responses can serve as data for L2 learning. Of interest have been responses that draw learners' attention to their imprecisions, and provide negative evidence of inconsistencies between forms and features in their production and target versions in the L2. Experimental, conversational, and classroom contexts have revealed a variety of possible encodings, ranging from explicit expressions of evaluation and correction to implicit feedback through recasts, clarification requests, and confirmation checks.

In light of the diversity of interactional contexts in which negative evidence has been shown to occur, and the variety of ways in which it can be encoded, the present study compared its availability and encodings during interactive activities in two types of classrooms, one whose curricula emphasized communication of subject matter content, and the other, practice of grammatical features and rules. Data were collected during teacher-led discussion and sentence building exercises, as these had been shown to be the most typical activities in the respective classroom types.

Results of the study revealed that negative evidence was available in both types of activities. However, the grammar-based sentence construction activity showed far closer consistency between students' imprecisions and responses of negative evidence than the content-based discussion. During content-based discussion, less than a third of the responses offered negative evidence. Instead, many student contributions, though filled with grammatical imprecisions, received responses of backchannelling, agreement, and acknowledgment as to their content appropriateness. Nearly fifty percent were not given any response at all. In contrast, over two thirds of the responses in the grammar-based sentence construction contained negative evidence, and only six percent did not receive a response. Despite these differences in the extent to which negative evidence was available, however, three similarities were found in both activity types. First, most of the negative evidence was provided after learner misproductions that were one utterance long. Secondly, negative evidence was offered in teacher, rather than peer, responses. Finally, most of the negative evidence was implicit in its encoding.

These three features comply with interactional options available in most classrooms, and suggest that it is possible for learners to be provided with negative evidence across a range of activities, whether they are as open-ended as discussion, which generates lengthy opinions, or close-ended as grammar exercises, which require specific answers. These activities, however, posed concerns with respect to their restrictions on either response data to students or out-

put production by them. First, based on the number of non-target productions, it is troubling that there were so many misproductions during discussion that were followed by responses of backchannelling, acknowledgment, or agreement, or no response at all. Additionally problematic was that the predominant context for suppliance of negative evidence in both activities was the limited, utterance-level production of the students. In other words, the activities, as implemented, either restricted responses with negative evidence for the sake of learner output or limited production of output for the sake of responses. At the very least, this pattern suggests the need to encourage inclusion of both kinds of activities in class, since students will receive different kinds of feedback in the different output conditions.

In addition, these observations suggested consideration of ways in which the activities might be modified or augmented to promote responses of negative evidence to students' misproductions. One way to do this would be for interlocutors to respond to students' imprecisions with implicit negative evidence throughout their lengthy text productions. It might be possible, for example, to add onto or substitute the backchannelling, acknowledgment, and other responses found in the background of the lengthy texts of Excerpts (3) and (4) with other, unobtrusive moves which supply negative evidence. Such a possibility is shown below as the original excerpts have been kept intact, with backchannels and comments used as insertion points for responses of negative evidence, here encoded implicitly, as recasts and negotiation signals, in bold. In keeping with results of the study, there is also an attempt to recast utterances or clauses with respect to utterances with one non-target feature.

Excerpt (3a)

Teacher	**Student**
give me a thumbnail—give me a thumbnail sketch	
aah uh-huh, uh-huh	the second one is, eh, the teacher give him, gives him enough time and encouraged him like Patricia said, the teacher give him enough uh
ah **yes she gave him enough what?**	space to let him to feel he can do good that's the most important two points for him and he pay more attention to uh I mean the teacher pay more attention to Angel -- he's one of a closest students of him and he he, the teacher prevents the fighting between Angel and other students that xxx
yeah yeah **he was one of the closest** students to him	teacher if they would ask question
yeah yeah, that's right that's right **if they would ask questions he would give ninety nine points**	he would give ninety nine percent point

(Content-based discussion)

Excerpt (4a)

Teacher	Student
	the daughter have a pretty good but she also hope to get married but she think about her mother. So they are worried__each other you know so they pretend they think they really have a good life
mm-hmm **yes they are worried about each other**	at that time
mm—hmm	but when the her mother go to China back and her mother change change his un thinking and being and then uh her daughter think that then she can get married and her mother can independ on others
really? I had a very different point of view **about when her mother went back to China OR** really? I had a very different point of view about it. **You think she wants her mother to depend on Others, so she can get married?**	
(Content-based Discussion)	

Similarly, during sentence construction, it might be possible to encourage text production in an area of prior imprecision, including additional negative evidence moves as follow up. Excerpt (1) is repeated, but embellished in bold.

Excerpt (1a)

Teacher	Student
	ah, I wrote it
you read it?	the title Polish is different
Tell be about it. Can you give me a thumbnail sketch?	
(Grammar-based exercise)	

In addition to inserting responses of negative evidence to utterances within sustained student texts during open discussion activities, or building texts that can then receive responses in grammar-based ones, another possibility would be to employ classroom activities that require precision of form and content and thereby invite responses of negative evidence as a necessity for their completion. Close-ended, information exchange tasks are especially conducive to this outcome. For example, students might be asked to reconstruct a scene from a film or story by pooling individual story lines, in strip story format, which need to be placed in order of occurrence. They

might be asked to participate in a dictogloss task, taking notes on a passage or scene, then using the notes to collaborate in reconstructing them. As other research has shown (See again, Swain 1995) during their collaboration, there is a strong possibility that they will be given responses of negative evidence when they have failed to mark appropriate time inflections and rules.

Because the grammar-based sentence construction activity generated a good deal of negative evidence in response to student imprecisions, but invited little sustained speech on the students' parts, it must also be modified when it is used to promote this important dimension of L2 learning. Making such exercises less teacher-led and more peer collaborative as well as requiring students to justify their answers to each other in small groups and to their class as a whole, might stimulate them to provide responses of negative evidence, observe grammatical imprecisions and inconsistencies, and discuss them metalinguistically. Similarly, setting up activities in which a peer must justify or expand on another student's output might also encourage peer attention to mismatches of form and function and more feedback with negative evidence from peers.

Results of the present study remind us of the important role of activity in generating the kinds of input needed for L2 learning. The two activity types of the study, discussions and grammar exercises, are common to a variety of classrooms, not only those of the current study. Although not always embraced wholeheartedly for their role in assisting L2 learning, they remain common classroom staples. Indeed they have much to offer both learner and teacher with respect to classroom communication, preparation, and management, and with these few suggested enhancements, could be even more beneficial for L2 learning. As meeting students' needs for negative evidence becomes recognized as an important classroom concern, modification of existing materials and adjusting of classroom practice will become increasingly necessary. The findings of the present study, it is hoped, can be of help in that regard.

References

Chaudron, C. (1977). A descriptive model of discourse in the corrective treatment of learners' errors. *Language Learning, 27*, 29-46.

Chaudron, C. (1988). *Second Language Classrooms: Research on Teaching and Learning*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Doughty, C. & Varela, E. (1998) Communicative focus on form. In C. Doughty & J. Williams (Eds.), *Focus on form in second language classroom* (pp. 114-138). New York: Cambridge University Press.

Doughty, C. & Williams, J. (Eds.). (1998). *Focus on form in second language classroom*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Ellis, R. (1994). *The study of second language acquisition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Farrar, M. (1990). Discourse and the acquisition of grammatical morphemes. *Journal of Child Language, 17* (3), 607-624.

Farrar , M. (1992). Negative evidence and grammatical morpheme acquisition. *Develop-*

mental Psychology, 28 (1), 90-98.

Gass, S. & Selinker, L. (1994). *Second language acquisition: An introductory course.* Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Gass, S. & Varonis, E. (1989). Incorporated repairs in non-native discourse. In M. Eisenstein (Ed.). *The dynamic interlanguage: Empirical studies in second language variation* (pp. 71-86). New York: Plenum Press.

Gass, S. & Varonis, E. (1994). Input, interaction, and second language production. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition, 16,* 283-302.

Kumaravadivelu, B. (1994). The postmethod condition: Emerging strategies for second / foreign language teaching. *TESOL Quarterly, 28,* 27-48.

Lightbown, P. (1993). Input, interaction, and feedback in second language acquisition. *Second Language Research, 7,* ii-iv.

Lightbown, P. and Spada, N. (1990). Focus on form and corrective feedback in communicative language teaching: Effects on second language learning. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition, 12,* 429-448.

Lightbown, P. & Spada, N. (1997). Learning English as a second language in a special school in Quebec. *Canadian Modern Language Review,* 53 (2), 215-355.

Lightbown, P. & Spada, N. (1999). *How languages are learned.* Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Long, M. (1985). Input and second language acquisition theory. In S. Gass & C. Madden (Eds.) *Input in Second Language Acquisition* (pp. 377 - 393). Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Long, M. (1996). The role of the linguistic environment in second language acquisition. In W. C. Ritchie & T. K. Bhatia (Eds.), *Handbook of language acquisition (Vol. 2): Second language acquisition* (pp. 413-468). New York: Academic Press.

Long, M. & Robinson, P. (1998). Focus on form: Theory, research, and practice. In C. Doughty & J. Williams (Eds.), *Focus on form in second language classroom* (pp. 15-41). New York: Cambridge University Press.

Long, M., Inagaki, S. & Ortega, L. (1998). The role of implicit negative evidence in SLA: Models and recasts in Japanese and Spanish. *The Modern Language Journal, 82,* 357-371.

Lyster, R. (1998). Recasts, repetition, and ambiguity in L2 classroom discourse. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition, 20,* 51-81.

Lyster, R. & Ranta, L. (1997). Corrective feedback and learner uptake: Negotiation of form in communicative classrooms. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition, 19,* 137-66.

Mackey, A. & Philp, J. (1998). Conversational interaction and second language development: Recasts, responses, and red herrings? *Modern Language Journal, 82,* 338-356.

Nelson, K.E. (1977). Facilitating children's syntax acquisition. *Developmental Psychology, 13,* 101-107

Oliver, R. (1995). Negative feedback in child NS/NNS conversation. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition, 17,* 559-482.

Oliver, R. (2000). Age differences in negotiation and feedback in classroom and pairwork. *Language Learning, 50,* 119-151.

Pica, T. (1988). Interlanguage adjustments as an outcome of NS-NNS negotiated interaction. *Language Learning, 38,* 45-73.

Pica, T. (1994). Research on negotiation: What does it reveal about second language learning conditions, processes, and outcomes? *Language Learning, 44,* 493-527.

Pica, T. (2000). Tradition and transition in English language teaching methodology. *System, 28* (1), 1-18.

Pinker, S. (1989). Resolving a learnability paradox in the acquisition of the verb lexicon. In M. L. Rice and R. L. Schiefelbusch (eds.). *The teachability of language.* Baltimore: Paul H. Brookes.

Schmidt, R. (1990). The role of consciousness in language learning. *Applied Linguistics, 11*, 17-46.

Spada, N. (1997). Form-focussed instruction and second language acquisition: A review of classroom and laboratory research. *Language Teaching*, 29 (1), 1-15.

Spada, N. & Lightbown, P. (1993). Instruction and the development of questions in L2 classrooms. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition, 15*, 2: 205-224.

Swain, M. (1995). Three functions of output in second language learning. In G. Cook & B. Seidlhofer (Eds.), *For H. G. Widdowson; Principles and practice in the study of language*. (pp. 125-144). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

White, L. (1991). Adverb placement in second language acquisition: Some positive and negative evidence in the classroom. *Second Language Research, 7*, 122-161.

White, L., Spada, N., Lightbown, P., & Ranta, L. (1991). Input enhancement and L2 question formation. *Applied Linguistics, 12*, 416-432.

Teresa Pica is a Professor in the Language in Education Division. She holds an M.A. in Speech Pathology from Columbia University Teachers College and a Ph.D. in Educational Linguistics from the University of Pennsylvania. Her research interests in second language and foreign language acquisition have focused on social interaction between language learners and native speakers and the role of instruction in the acquisition process.

Bruce Evans is a doctoral candidate in Educational Linguistics at the University of Pennsylvania Graduate School of Education and research assistant with the National Center on Adult Literacy. His research interests include education of language minority students, adolescent second language acquisition, content-based second language learning and teaching, and Internet based instruction and testing.

Victoria Jo has a Masters degree in TESOL and is presently a doctoral student in Higher Education Administration at the Graduate School of Education, University of Pennsylvania. Her current research focuses on issues involving the economics and financing of colleges and universities, both nationally and internationally. She has taught ESL at the college level and is presently a research coordinator at the Pension Research Council, The Wharton School.

Gay N. Washburn is assistant professor in the department of Languages, Literatures and Linguistics at Syracuse University. She teaches graduate courses in TESOL methodology and English as a second language for ITAs. Research interests include performance on short-term learning tasks by long term learners, pragmatic language use in television sitcoms, and suppliance and use of negative evidence in classroom settings.

EFL Teaching and EFL Teachers in the Global Expansion of English

Oleg Tarnopolsky

Dnepropetrovsk State Technical University of Railway Transport, Ukraine
(Visiting scholar at Graduate School of Education, University of Pennsylvania)

This article draws a distinction between teaching English as a second and foreign language, demonstrating that in the latter case, teaching should be modified towards greater emphasis on formal grammar instruction and on developing learners' interlingual and intercultural awareness. Advantages of EFL teachers who are non-native speakers of English are shown for some EFL teaching conditions. The advantages are tied to the fact that such EFL teachers are those who, as a rule, share their students' mother tongue and culture and are, therefore, better prepared for coping with the specific problems that originate from incompatibilities or differences in target and native languages and/or cultures. Some ways of eliminating such teachers' natural disadvantages as non-native speakers of English are advocated.

With the global expansion of English as the language of international communication, another expansion is taking place that of teaching and learning English as a foreign language (EFL), i.e., outside the countries where it is spoken and where it has internal communicative functions and sociopolitical status (on this issue see Nayar, 1997). This second expansion puts two questions to the forefront of professional discussion. The first of them is whether EFL can and should be taught in the same way as English as a second language (ESL) is taught when it is acquired by speakers of other languages in the countries where English is the mother tongue of the majority of the population[1]. The second question is tied to the fact that in EFL teaching situations the majority of teachers of English are not native speakers due to obvious reasons. It is enough to mention only one of them - the most apparent. With the global expansion of English and the quickly growing need of learning the language felt by millions of people, there never will be enough professional teachers of English who are native speakers to meet the demand of the world over. In EFL, native speakers of English will inevitably be in the minority as teachers. Hence, the question is

[1]Nayar (1997) has shown that ESL/EFL dichotomy is not full as there are marginal situations, but they are irrelevant for the purposes of this article and will not be discussed further.

whether a professional teacher of English who is not a native speaker of the language s/he teaches is always at a disadvantage as compared to his or her colleague who had been lucky enough to be born in the UK, the USA, Canada, or Australia. Is it possible that in EFL situations the former may have some advantages over the latter? Which are those advantages that she or he can reasonably hope to enjoy and can the obvious disadvantages of such a teacher's position be somehow softened and avoided?

The purpose of this article is to discuss some answers to these questions.

ESL/EFL Dichotomy in Teaching - Theoretical and Practical Implications

Researchers' opinions differ as to the answer to the first question above because some of them deny the existence of any difference in the way EFL should be taught in comparison with ESL. On the contrary, other authors emphasize the difference analyzing its underlying reasons.

Those authors who do not see the necessity of a clear differentiation between ESL and EFL teaching base this opinion on the assumption that second language acquisition data are fully applicable to foreign language learning (Savignon 1990; VanPatten 1990). Yet, many others support the notion that the two processes do not coincide. For instance, Seliger (1988: 27) points out that, despite the universality of manner and order of acquiring an L2 by speakers of different first languages, there are no data to disprove the possibility of different effects for first language transfer in contexts where learners have little or no exposure to the second language outside the classroom, and where all the other students speak the same first language. Wildner-Bassett (1990) sees a clear-cut distinction between a second language setting where native and non-native speakers communicate for real communication purposes and a foreign language setting where only artificial communication is possible. Though Bassett ascribes different discourse patterns more to classroom - non-classroom differences than to FL/SL differences, these dissimilar patterns are quite real and objective. That is why Kramsch (1990) is justified in saying that a separate agenda is necessary in foreign language learning research as distinct from second language acquisition research.

All in all, it may be said that there is no unanimous opinion concerning the relationship between second language acquisition and foreign language learning (VanPatten & Lee 1990). But the opinion that the two processes are different at least in some respects and therefore should be treated differently is quite well founded and matches much of the empirical data. Two principal differences can be pinpointed that will hardly evoke any objections on the part of researchers and practical teachers.

The first of these differences becomes clear from the very definition of what foreign language learning is as distinct from second language acquisition. Foreign language teaching/learning means that L2 is not used as one of the primary means of communication in the country where it is learned, i.e., there is reference to the speech community outside this country (Berns 1990b; Paulston 1992). In

other words, we speak about EFL when English, as it has already been mentioned above, is taught in countries where it has little or no internal communicative function or sociopolitical status (Nayar 1997: 31); it is just a school subject with no recognized status or function at all (Richards, Platt, & Weber 1985).

This means that EFL learners, unlike ESL learners, get in touch with English only in the classroom, and hardly anywhere else outside it. And class hours in EFL conditions are inevitably limited. If English is learned at school or university, there are many other subjects to study; therefore, classes of English cannot be held more frequently than two or three times a week. If it is learned in the framework of some intensive program (IEP), the situation is of course better, but even in these conditions people cannot have classes every weekday for five or six hours as is usually the case with ESL IEPs. It is because EFL IEPs are usually designed for learners who do not discontinue their work or studies during the program period as is done by those ESL students who come to an English-speaking country with the purpose of acquiring a command of English.

The inevitable consequence is a scarcity of input in English (comprehensible or any other), serious limitations in variety, richness and volume of the input available to an EFL student in comparison with an ESL student. It means that, as compared to ESL, EFL learners have very limited opportunities to develop their interlanguage and gradually bringing it nearer to the target language following the classic second language (SLA) acquisition paradigm (Ellis 1994; Krashen 1985) through making and testing their own hypotheses as to the target language structure on the basis of rich and varied comprehensible input. This unavoidable deficiency has to be compensated for, and such a compensation has hardly any other alternative than explicit focusing on language forms with the aim of supplying students with hypotheses and testing them in special language form-focusing learning activities.

In ESL teaching the need for and usefulness of what is called focus on language form (see Doughty & Williams 1998) and formal grammar instruction has until lately been either strongly doubted or completely rejected, following Krashen's (1982, 1985) SLA theory. But in recent years the pendulum has started swinging in the other direction. Numerous authors insist on the necessity of an approach rationally combining communication and cognition, i.e., on reinforcing unconscious language acquisition in communication with conscious focusing on language structures. Rutherford (1987) who developed the theory and practice of students' consciousness-raising as to grammar forms has always been one of the most ardent proponents of the idea that language focusing is inevitable in SLA. A number of other authors supplied data (often experimental) supporting the need of some kind of formal grammar instruction as an inherent part of teaching for facilitating acquisition (Bley-Vroman 1990; Doughty 1991; Herron & Tomasello 1992; VanPatten & Cadierno 1993). Even Ellis (1986; 1990; 1994) who is very cautious about admitting the positive role of formal grammar instruction points out that it enhances the second language acquisition by

accelerating its process.

If such views are gaining prominence in SLA theory and ESL teaching, they are all the more true in EFL teaching where, as it has already been said, there is a serious deficiency in volume, richness and variety of comprehensible input, and compensation for this deficiency can hardly be found anywhere else but in integrating some sort of formal grammar instruction into the teaching/learning process. Many authors support the absolute necessity of such integration in EFL and one can rarely meet objections to it in the professional literature. For instance, Chaudron wrote, "Instruction will especially be valuable when other naturalistic input is not available, as in a foreign language instruction contexts, or when learners are at a low level of proficiency and not as likely to obtain sufficient comprehensible input in naturalistic encounters" (1988: 6). Such a proposition is shared by McDonough & Shaw (1993: 35) who point out that "... a more grammatically oriented syllabus is to be preferred in a context where English is a foreign language and where learners are unlikely to be exposed to it".

Since nobody doubts that English is taught for communication, and the only way to teach communication in the target language is learning it in communication and through communication, the question arises how to achieve in EFL the integration of formal grammar instruction and focus on language form into the dominantly communicative approach leaving intact the prevailing communicative constituent of the teaching/learning process. One of the ways of attaining this is the communicative-analytic approach already described elsewhere (Tarnopolsky, 1997; 1998).

This approach is based on the assumption that focus on language form (analysis) will serve the purpose of EFL learning for communication only if communication absolutely dominates analysis so that the latter is nothing more than a support for accelerating the development of communicative competence. A combination of communication and cognition (communicative-analytic approach) is possible if the pattern of "guided communication – focus on language form (analysis) - unguided communication" is followed in the organization of learning activities in the framework of every learning unit consisting of several classes.

According to this pattern, the first stage (one or two classes) in a learning unit is devoted to students' receiving the greatest possible amount of comprehensible input in the target language and to their attempts to use this input in their own communication without analyzing new language forms - just on the basis of input models, i.e., synthetically, as comprehensible output (Swain, 1985). It can be done only with different speech supports from the teacher and teaching materials guiding the process of learners' verbal interaction and making it a guided (controlled) quasi-communication. The holistically communicative approach at the start of every learning unit makes the new language material in the input communicatively meaningful for learners and ensures its initial processing and retention in communication. It permits making the second stage in the learning unit a class of analysis devoted to focusing students' conscious attention on the new language forms that were already used in guided communication. The principal contents of learning

activities at this stage are analyzing these forms and their purposeful practicing. Though such practicing is primarily language form-focused, it should at the same time simulate some basic features of communication as the function of this practice is gaining command of language forms for their free and fluent use in further verbal interaction.

This leads to the crowning stage (one or two classes) in a learning unit – that of unguided communication with no artificial speech supports. The suggested approach ensures gradual elimination of the middle link in the "guided communication – focus on language form (analysis) - unguided communication" pattern as soon as learners master some preset minimum of target language forms (usually at the point of transition from the intermediate to the upper intermediate level). It means that the communicative-analytic approach presupposes its own transformation into a purely communicative one.

The approach just discussed is only one of a number of possible alternatives for organizing EFL teaching/learning. Its advantage (see Tarnopolsky, 1998) is in taking full account of the first of the two differences in EFL situations as compared to ESL, i.e., the deficiency in volume and richness of comprehensible input that students get - this deficiency requiring considerable but balanced focus on language form that is called upon to help and accelerate the development of learners' communicative abilities, but in no way damaging or delaying it.

There is also the second principal difference between EFL learning and ESL acquisition that originates from the same source – absence of learner's immersion into the target language cultural community. To explain this difference, it should be remembered that communication in any language does not mean only output and intake of verbal content information. Not all of it is content information since a great part is bound up with social and cultural norms of a given community (formulas of politeness, etc.) while some of the information is not verbal (e.g., gesticulation accepted in a given culture). This aspect of communication is reflected in Hymes' (1986: 63-64) notions of norms of interaction and norms of interpretation. Hymes shows that norms of interaction are specific proprieties and behaviors attached to speaking, while norms of interpretation may be considered as those behavioral norms that are crucial for correct interpretation of information being received in communication (e.g., the acceptable distance between interlocutors in different speech communities). These ideas of Hymes were a source of inspiration to quite a number of sociolinguistic studies that have demonstrated the need to teach L2 learners rules of speaking, or sociolinguistic behavior, proper to the target language native speakers (Wolfson 1989). Such studies have demonstrated that intercultural miscommunication is the result of sociolinguistic transfer of behavior characteristics of L1 speech community into interaction with native speakers of L2 (Chick 1996). That is why what McGroaty (1996: 11) called "language behavior during social interaction" and, in general, the culture of interaction proper to the target speech community must become an integral and fundamental part of education when L2 is taught and biliteracy is developed (Hornberger 1996).

The information above may be called communicative behavioral information

since it is a regulator of interlocutors' behavior in verbal interaction (norms of interaction and norms of interpretation). All possible regulators of this kind may be called communicative behavioral patterns and divided into three principal types.

1. Verbal communicative behavioral patterns that can be demonstrated by a culturally recognized behavioral difference between two questions (absolutely identical from the point of view of content information conveyed) – "Do you want anything to drink?" and "Would you like anything to drink?" The first one is behaviorally appropriate when talking to a close friend, a family member, etc., but not in the formal polite intercourse where only the second alternative question would be admissible.

2. Non-verbal communicative behavioral patterns such as whether it is required or not to shake hands upon meeting; how to gesticulate and what gestures are admissible in the process of communication in a given culture (taking into account different meanings of identical gestures in different cultures); what style of dressing is socially and culturally acceptable and what is the meaningful message of this or that mode of dressing for members of the given community – and a multitude of similar patterns.

3. Lifestyle communicative behavioral patterns that reflect ways of doing simple everyday things, as well as verbal and non-verbal communication structuring while doing such things as shopping, using public transport, having meals, providing oneself with housing accommodations and many others - things that are done differently (often very differently) in different cultures. Command of just those patterns characteristic of the target language culture is probably no less important than the command of the target language itself since it is their absence that is the principal cause of the cultural shock often felt by a person immersed into an alien (foreign) cultural community[2].

If in both ESL and EFL teaching following the communicative behavioral patterns of the first type (verbal) are always taught very thoroughly, those of the second and third types (non-verbal and lifestyle ones) are either not taught at all or taught in a very fragmented manner. There is nothing surprising in this. An ESL or EFL teacher who is a native speaker of English often does not teach these types since it is not required by course books s/he uses, s/he has enough problems on her or his hands without it, and she or he was not taught that this particular problem was relevant. An EFL teacher who is not a native speaker of English and who has not ever been to the United States or Great Britain does not usually have reliable English coursebooks

[2] Communicative behavioral patterns may be classified differently – all of them can be divided into verbal and non-verbal communicative behavioral patterns while the area of communication (and interaction in general) will serve as another basis for classifying both verbal and non-verbal patterns. In this way we will have not only lifestyle communicative behavioral patterns but also behavioral patterns in business, military, and all sorts of professional communication. But this classification is more useful for sociolinguistic research and for ESP teaching. The classification given above, being more compact, seems to be more convenient for teaching General English.and comprehensive sources from which to take this particular information.

have it only in fragments and as a rule do not set it down systematically – even if purely cultural issues are treated (much more attention is given to exotic traditions or to descriptions of political and educational systems, history, art, and literature). It is also hardly surprising even if the authors of course books are native speakers of English since, as Wolfson (1989: 53) justly pointed out, "... socio-linguistic patterns are ... not objectively known to native speakers, including the teachers and material writers who are most in need of applying them".

It should be noted however, for the sake of fairness, that information about the lifestyle communicative behavioral patterns in English-speaking countries has become more prevalent in English course books written in recent years. A good example is the *Matters* series written by Jan Bell and Roger Gower (1997, 1998). And yet, even in the best course books, this information remains too fragmented and non-systematic to ensure students' developing target lifestyle communicative behavioral patterns – while non-verbal communicative behavioral patterns are, as a rule, not given any attention at all.

It may not be a problem in ESL teaching because a student who is acquiring her or his English in an English-speaking country will grasp non-verbal and lifestyle communicative behavioral patterns very quickly just because she or he is exposed to these patterns due to immersion in an English-speaking cultural community.

But an EFL learner may, and usually does, finish her or his course of English without having any idea of how different non-verbal and lifestyle communicative behavioral patterns in her or his home culture and in the English-speaking cultural communities are. As a result, however good a command over the target language a learner acquires, it does not save her or him from problems and misunderstandings with native speakers and social institutions in the target cultural community – especially if it is vastly different in its style of daily life as compared to her or his home community. In such a situation cultural shocks are especially serious and painful – due to contrast between a good command of the language itself and inability to understand what is going on around you. In this respect, for EFL learners acquiring the target culture's non-verbal and lifestyle communicative behavioral patterns while learning communication in the language of that culture, it is of particular importance[3].

All of this means that non-verbal and lifestyle communicative behavioral patterns must find a considerable place in EFL teaching (it is certainly possible

[3]There are certainly some EFL learners who do not expect to go to English-speaking countries, and for them there is no acuteness in the problem of cultural shocks. In such cases it may be said that this category of learners is not in great need of being taught non-verbal and lifestyle communicative behavioral patterns. But as the experience of EFL teaching in some countries (e.g., Ukraine and other countries of the former USSR) has shown, learners of this category are in absolute minority. Usually they select specific courses of English with focus on developing reading and writing skills, and their case will not be taken into consideration any further (besides, absence of awareness of some specific cultural non-verbal and lifestyle communicative behavioral patterns while reading or writing can also become the cause of lack of comprehension and of miscommunication).

only after specific teaching materials are prepared). The inclusion of such patterns into the teaching/learning process bears much closer relation to getting familiarized with the target community's culture than to acquiring its language. And learning alien (foreign) culture in the midst of the home culture is hardly possible without constant comparisons between the two cultures.

This leads to the conclusion that there must be two principal differences in organizing EFL teaching as compared to ESL. The first of them is almost universally admitted. It is necessary to pay much greater attention to focus on language form and formal grammar instruction activities but without encroaching on the fundamental principles of the communicative approach, mainly the principle one of them – teaching language for communication, in communication, and through communication. The second difference is generally much less emphasized but seems no less important. It lies in the requirement to pay much greater attention to developing target culture communicative behavioral patterns (first of all, non-verbal and lifestyle ones) on the basis of comparing them to those of the home culture.

The formulation of these two principle differences makes it possible to start discussing the second question put at the beginning of this article. This is the question of what are the advantages and disadvantages in EFL of a teacher of English who is not a native speaker of English.

Advantages, Disadvantages and Prospects in EFL of a Teacher of English Who Is Not a Native Speaker of English

Discussing this issue, it is better to start with the advantages in EFL situations of a teacher of English who is not a native speaker (such teachers will hereafter be called TENNS) as compared to teachers of English who are native speakers of this language (hereafter called TENS). It is because, as it has already been mentioned in the Introduction, TENNS will probably always be in the majority in EFL, and if a situation cannot be changed, it is probably most important to find what its advantages are. Some advantages of a TENNS in EFL have already been discussed in the professional literature.

The opinions of some of the authors in this issue are inextricably bound with the issue of using or not using the mother tongue in the English classroom. It is emphasized now that "English only" tactics in the classroom are more damaging than the limited use of learners' mother tongue where it may help (Auerbach 1993). The first language is hardly avoidable in ordinary EFL conditions where all the learners, as well as the teacher (TENNS), speak it. In this case the most favorable situation for L2 acquisition is absolutely impossible since it requires:

> 1) a great deal of oral language input not only from teachers, but also from native speakers of that language;
>
> 2) an opportunity to use the L2 in meaningful contexts where feedback from native speakers is received (McLaughlin 1985).

So, it would be reasonable to use the advantages given by the common knowledge of L1. These advantages are in opportunities of turning to the L1 in order to facilitate some specific difficulties of the L2, and in using the L1 for explaining some points that it would be hard to explain in the L2. This is the opinion supported by Cook (1999: 201) who considers learners' L1 a valuable instrument in presenting meaning. That is also why Widdowson (1994) strongly objects to the assumption that a native-speaker is always better as a teacher of English than a teacher whose mother tongue is not English. If English is taught as a foreign language in a non-English-speaking setting where all learners share the same first language, the teacher who speaks this L1 has the advantage of being better prepared to cope with those specific problems of his/her students that originate from incompatibilities or differences in the target and native languages (Medgyes, 1983; Tang, 1997).

The view that native speakers are not always the best teachers of English is gradually spreading (O'Dwyer, 1996). It also finds support in the current opinion that different kinds of teaching materials are needed when teaching English in different countries - in Germany they cannot be the same as in Japan, and there cannot be one and the same teaching methodology for all the countries (Berns, 1990a: 104-105). If this approach is correct, participation of teachers and specialists in teaching English who are not native speakers in organizing and carrying out EFL teaching becomes absolutely indispensable, as well as making appropriate use of students' L1 in such conditions.

The opinions quoted above may be summarized by saying that, according to them, the advantages of a TENNS in EFL lie in the ability to make recourse to the students' mother tongue where it can facilitate, accelerate and improve the learning process and also in the ability to better understand students' problems in English – those that originate from L1-L2 differences.

The analysis made in the preceding part of this article provides strong support for these opinions and also adds some other advantages. If paying greater attention to focus on language form activities (i.e., to students' consciousness-raising as to language forms) is required, such consciousness-raising will certainly be much more effective and students will get much clearer ideas about the target language structure by way of comparing it to the mother tongue structure. In ESL teaching such explicit comparisons are hardly possible since there are students with different mother tongues in the same group while the teacher's mother tongue is, as a rule, English. But even if this comparison is not done explicitly, it is inevitably done by students themselves since "whether we like it or not, the new language is learned on the basis of a previous language" (Stern, 1992: 282). It certainly concerns adult and adolescent learners who speak only their mother tongue from their early childhood (are not bilingual or trilingual from childhood) because for them, their L1 is such an integral and inseparable part of their personalities and mentalities that everything in the new language is perceived from the

point of view of and compared to the L1's structure and rules. So, there is no sense in excluding such explicit interlingual comparisons in the situations where they are quite possible and rational – in monolingual EFL groups of learners where the teacher shares her or his students' mother tongue. But it can only be done if the teacher does share the same L1, meaning that this sharing is an advantage of a TENNS over a TENS in EFL situations.

To give support to the view that explicit interlingual comparisons and an ability to make them in EFL is indeed an advantage for the teacher, some ESL/EFL research can be cited. In the last two decades the research interest in L1 transfer and interference questions has been greatly revived and a number of works on these issues have been published (see, for instance, Adjemian 1983; Bialystok & Hakuta 1994; Ellis 1994; Faerch & Kasper 1987; Kellerman 1984; Odlin 1989). It comes to be more often emphasized in these works that interlingual awareness of students, which is the result of interlingual comparisons, fosters the use of transfer strategies (see a practical example in the article by Deignan, Gabrys & Solska 1997). The relevant set of ideas may be summarized in the following quotation from Schweers (1997: 10) who asserts that there is

> ... a correlation between a learner's level of interlingual awareness and the frequency of use of transfer strategies. Interlingual awareness is a learner's awareness of and sensitivity to relationships that exist between L1 and L2 at all levels. The more interlingually aware learners are, the more frequently they will use the transfer strategy. Furthermore, interlingual awareness and transfer use can be increased through the use of modules that draw the learners' attention to areas of similarity and difference.

Therefore, one more advantage of a TENNS over a TENS in EFL is that the former can purposefully develop her or his students' interlingual awareness while the latter cannot[4].

What has been said about learners' interlingual awareness is also true in what concerns their intercultural awareness. Moreover, developing intercultural awareness in EFL teaching/learning process seems even more important than developing interlingual awareness. It is because in the conditions of students' little personal contact with the target cultural community, when the target culture is nothing but "book knowledge", only purposeful comparisons with the home culture can give it some "flesh and blood". And again, a TENNS is much better equipped for making such comparisons and developing learners' intercultural awareness than TENS (certainly if a TENNS has enough knowledge about the target language cultural communities, especially in the domain of non-verbal and

[4] A TENS certainly can do it too if she or he has a good command of her or his students' mother tongue and the group taught is monolingual, but it is a rare occasion for TENS.

lifestyle communicative behavioral patterns discussed before). A TENS, having to say a lot about her or his home culture, cannot compare it to the home culture of her or his students as s/he does not know this latter culture well enough[5].

There is one more psychological advantage pinpointed by Cook (1999: 200) who wrote that "... students may feel overwhelmed by native-speaker teachers who have achieved a perfection that is out of the students' reach.... Students may prefer the fallible nonnative-speaker teacher who presents a more achievable model".

Everything said above leads to the conclusion that a highly qualified and competent TENNS has the following five advantages over a TENS when English is taught as a foreign language (outside the country where it is spoken) in a monolingual group and when this TENNS shares her or his students' mother tongue and home culture:

1) s/he can use her/his students' mother tongue whenever and wherever it can facilitate and accelerate the process of learning English;

2) s/he is much better equipped to help her/his students cope with those learning problems that depend on L1 and L2 differences and that can be solved effectively only when the teacher has a clear idea about the essence of these differences;

3) s/he is much better equipped for developing her/his students' interlingual awareness conducive to their acquiring those transfer strategies that are an important prerequisite for target language learning;

4) s/he is much better equipped for developing her/his students' intercultural awareness that is the only way of learning target culture (especially target non-verbal and lifestyle communicative behavioral patterns) in the conditions where students have no or very little direct contact with target cultural communities; and

5) s/he "presents a more achievable model" to her/his students not overwhelming them with the native-speaker's perfection.

This list of advantages should be set off against the list of disadvantages – meaning certainly only the disadvantages of a highly qualified and competent TENNS, those that are hardly avoidable despite the qualification. These disadvantages are self-evident.

The first is a foreign accent and other more or less serious imperfections in English that the best of TENNS often cannot get rid of during the length of their career – even if their visits to English-speaking countries were lengthy. It is well known that the achievement of native-like perfection in a foreign language not only takes years of practice but the goal is seldom fully attained – practically never if language is learned in adulthood and not in early childhood

[5] Of course, if s/he does know it and can make the comparisons in question, s/he is much better equipped for teaching culture, non-verbal and lifestyle communicative behavioral patterns to FFL students than a TENNS. But such cases are as rare as cases of a TENS having good command of her or his students' mother tongue.

(Walsh & Diller 1981). In general, L2 adult learners as a rule stop short of native-like success in a number of areas (Towell & Hawkins, 1994: 14-15), and the goal of attaining native-like perfection is better not set at all, especially in such a delicate field as pronunciation. The same may be said about training future teachers of English who are not native speakers if they started learning the language as adolescents or adults, which is most often the case.

The second disadvantage is the fact that for a TENNS, however competent she or he is, it is very difficult to be aware of all the recent developments in English. Any language is a living organism that undergoes constant changes. Even if a TENNS acquired her or his English in an English-speaking country, on returning there after 20 years of teaching it in the home country, she or he will find the language considerably changed, especially in vocabulary. And many TENNS often do not get to English-speaking countries even once in their lifetimes (or get there only once or twice). Regular listening to the radio and watching films in English, reading books, magazines and newspapers, contacting native speakers who come to the home country of a TENNS can remedy the situation in a way, but there is hardly any doubt that her or his opportunities of being up-to-date in the latest trends and tendencies in English are more than limited in comparison with a TENS.

The same can be said of cultural awareness. It is especially true concerning the non-verbal and lifestyle communicative behavioral patterns. It has already been mentioned that they are often not taught purposefully. Not only "ordinary" EFL students but teachers of English who are not native speakers of it sometimes do not even suspect that these patterns may be quite different in their home culture and in the target culture. Certainly, such TENNS cannot properly prepare their students for contacts with target language cultural communities upon coming to an English-speaking country. They cannot make their students immune to cultural shocks - so, this disadvantage (lack of cultural awareness) is probably the gravest of all.

The last disadvantage is tied to limited availability of the latest and most advanced English teaching materials and methods developed in English-speaking countries – those materials and methods that are much easier accessed and better known by a TENS. Organizations such as the British Council do a lot to disseminate the materials and methods in question but their efforts cannot reach all the TENNS and there are many other objective limitations (for instance, financial).

All the discussion above leads to a conclusion that there are both very serious advantages and substantial disadvantages of a TENNS (as compared to a TENS) in the situation when she or he teaches English as a foreign language in her or his home country. It may be even tentatively said that in some way advantages and disadvantages balance each other. This fact leads me to stimulate further discussion of the issue with the view of considering TENNS prospects in EFL teaching situations.

These prospects can be considered only under one angle. If it is true that

TENNS will always be in the majority in EFL so that EFL teaching will be mainly done by them, then their prospects depend on how well their advantages can be used and on how well their disadvantages can be fought against.

As to using advantages, it is clear that they can most fully be used under the conditions of the already described communicative-analytic approach. Due to its analytic component, this approach seems to be best adapted to developing learners' interlingual and intercultural awareness by making relevant comparisons. It gives the best opportunities for rational using of students' mother tongue in the process of such comparisons and analysis, and it also gives opportunities for the teacher to concentrate on just those specific L2 problems that present the greatest difficulties to learners with a definite L1.

But to use all these advantages of being a TENNS, the teacher must have all the appropriate methodology and materials at her or his disposal. Development of such methodology and materials directed specifically at teaching English as a foreign language in a given country with a given mother tongue and "mother culture" of EFL students may probably be considered as the priority task for EFL researchers and developers of teaching materials. Such a task for any given country with any given mother tongue and culture of its EFL students cannot certainly be solved by researchers and developers who do not know the country, its language and culture well enough. The best solution would probably be forming teams or task-forces consisting of EFL researchers and developers of teaching materials from an English-speaking country and from the country for which the methodology and the teaching materials in question are to be designed. Such task-forces may be temporary – with the task of developing just one particular methodology and one set of teaching materials (for instance, to teach children of a certain age) – or more permanent teams may be formed gradually working towards developing methodologies and teaching materials for different categories of learners and different kinds of EFL courses. If such specific methodologies and teaching materials to be used by competent and highly qualified TENNS are created, it will be in these teachers' power to greatly improve EFL teaching in their countries.

The next problem is bound up with the question of fighting those disadvantages of TENNS that were described above as often inherent even in the best situation. As to the first of these disadvantages, imperfections in English of a TENNS (especially her or his foreign accent) – they may be considerably reduced and become quite minor in the course of practicing, upgrading one's qualification, contacting native speakers during the teaching career, in-service and out-of-service training (especially if it is organized in English-speaking countries), reading and watching films in English, listening to the radio, etc.; many of the imperfections will totally disappear if appropriate efforts are made. But taking account of the opinions quoted above (Walsh & Diller 1981; Towell & Hawkins 1994), it is hardly possible to count on total disappearance of all such imperfections so that there will be absolutely no difference in this respect between a TENNS and a TENS. But the disadvantage being discussed is of a really minor importance considering contemporary

views on the issue of World Englishes (Kachru 1986; Kachru & Nelson 1996; Widdowson 1994). These views make great allowances for variations in standards of English as it is spoken in the UK, the USA, Canada, or Australia - so that some "internationally acceptable version of the target language" (Willis 1996: 12) "rather than a native speaker variety could be used ... " (Cook 1999: 198) as a standard. (It certainly does not eliminate the necessity for a TENNS to know the native speaker standards and approach them as closely as possible both in her or his own English and in her or his teaching).

In what concerns the other three disadvantages, they can and should be eliminated both during the initial training of a future TENNS and during her or his following in-service and out-of-service training periods, as well as in the process of teacher's independent studies to upgrade her or his own qualification. These disadvantages must be eliminated because they do not give the opportunity of really efficient and up-to-date EFL teaching. It goes without saying that to attain this goal, all the qualification upgrading measures indicated in the preceding paragraph, as well as continuous study of the latest professional literature, are of paramount importance. But these measures are far from sufficient because, as it has already been said, a TENNS often does not have access to the materials and sources s/he needs in her or his home country. Regular (at least once in every five years) out-of-service training periods in some English-speaking countries would certainly solve the problem, but this solution can hardly be considered as practically feasible. Of all the army of TENNS the world over, it is certainly a minority that gets at least one chance in a lifetime of having such training in the target language country. But there are thousands upon thousands of TENNS who have never even been to Great Britain, the USA, Australia, or Canada, to say nothing of getting trained there.

And yet, there seems to be two quite feasible solutions, thanks to the presence of hundreds of TENS in the countries where English is taught as a foreign language and to the achievements of modern technology. The first of them lies in certain re-orientation of many TENS working in non-English-speaking countries from teaching EFL students towards teaching TENNS – becoming their instructors and consultants in contemporary trends of development of the English language itself, in culture and communicative behavioral patterns proper to the English-speaking nations, in tendencies and latest developments in the fields of EFL/ESL teaching. In this way every TENS could become an instructor for groups of TENNS during their periods of in-service or out-of-service training and a consultant for much more of them in their practical everyday job. This option is already being actively made use of in many countries, but it alone cannot solve the problem as a whole. Not all the TENNS have access to such an in-service and out-of-service training even in their home countries, there are often not enough TENS to do it, and some of those available are not sufficiently qualified to be employed in teacher training. So, while using this option whenever and wherever possible, another more radical and reliable solution may be accepted as the ultimate one.

This second solution lies in elaborating the worldwide networks of continuous TENNS in-service training via Internet. These networks should be designed to provide TENNS with audio-visual interactive training programs and consultative service concentrating on: 1) latest developments in the English language itself; 2) cultural issues – with the main emphasis on communicative behavioral patterns (verbal, non-verbal and lifestyle ones); 3) latest and most advanced developments in ELT; 4) latest and most advanced teaching materials for ELT. Such Internet continuous training courses and consultative service may be accessible to practically all the TENNS the world over and even in most out-of-the-way places. They may well be the most radical step towards making future prospects for TENNS really bright as they may greatly help to eliminate such teachers' disadvantages and provide grounds for attaining high quality EFL teaching by any competent TENNS in whatever far away corner she or he is working. But to be efficient, such networks should be multiple and aimed at specific groups of TENNS (for instance, an in-service training program for teachers teaching English to students between ages of 12 and 16 in a definite country with a definite culture and a definite students' mother tongue). Creating such networks and programs for them is a long and arduous work requiring broad participation and close cooperation between numerous EFL researchers and specialists in developing teaching materials from English-speaking countries and countries for which each particular program is going to be designed. But the final results – obtaining a highly qualified army of TENNS deprived of their traditional disadvantages – seem to be worth the time and effort.

Conclusion

EFL teaching has some important differences from ESL requiring a specific approach with a greater emphasis on focus on language forms and on getting command of culture-specific communicative behavioral patterns (especially non-verbal and lifestyle ones) characteristic of English-speaking nations. Such an approach also requires developing students' interlingual and intercultural awareness by way of comparing L1 and L2 structures and cultures. Only teachers who share their monolingual students' mother tongue and culture can facilitate making such comparisons by EFL learners and developing their interlingual/intercultural awareness. This fact is the basis of a number of important advantages of these teachers in EFL teaching situations. At the same time, not being native speakers of English as a rule, they have a number of serious disadvantages that are not only obstacles to effective use of their own advantages, but also obstacles to the efficient organization of EFL teaching in general. These disadvantages can and should be eliminated in the conditions of global expansion of English when such teachers mostly teach EFL. The optimal and most practical way of eliminating their disadvantages is by providing the majority of EFL teachers who are not native speakers of English with the worldwide

networks of continuous in-service training via the Internet.

References

Adjemian, C. (1983). The transferability of lexical properties. In S. Gass & L. Selinker (Eds.), *Language transfer in language learning* (pp. 250-268). Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Auerbach, E.R. (1993). Reexamining English only in the ESL classroom. *TESOL Quarterly, 27*, 9-32.

Bell, J., & Gower, R. (1997, 1998). *Matters* (Elementary, Pre-Intermediate, Intermediate, Upper Intermediate, Advanced). Harlow, Essex: Addison Wesley Longman.

Berns, M. (1990a). *Contexts of competence: Social and cultural considerations in communicative language teaching*. New York & London: Plenum Press.

Berns, M. (1990b). "Second" and "foreign" in second language acquisition/foreign language learning: A sociolinguistic perspective. In B. VanPatten & J.F. Lee (Eds.), *Second language acquisition/Foreign language learning* (pp. 3-11). Clevedon, Philadelphia: Multilingual Matters Ltd.

Bialystok, E., & Hakuta, K. (1994). *In other words: The science and psychology of second language acquisition*. New York: Basic Books.

Bley-Vroman, R. (1990). The logical problem of foreign language learning. *Linguistic Analysis, 20*, 3-49.

Chaudron, C. (1988). *Second language classroom: Research on teaching and learning*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Chick, K.J. (1996). Intercultural communication. In S.L. McKay & N.H. Hornberger (Eds.), *Sociolinguistics and second language teaching* (pp. 329-348). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cook, V. (1999). Going beyond the native speaker in language teaching. *TESOL Quarterly*, 33, 185-209.

Deignan, A., Gabrys, D., & Solska, A. (1997). Teaching English metaphors using cross-linguistic awareness-raising activities. *ELT Journal, 51/4*, 352-360.

Doughty, C. (1991). Second language instruction does make a difference: Evidence from an empirical study of SL realization. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition*, 13, 431-469.

Doughty, C., & Williams, J. (Eds.) (1998). *Focus on form in classroom second language acquisition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ellis, R. (1986). *Understanding second language acquisition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ellis, R. (1990). *Instructed second language acquisition: Learning in the classroom*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Ellis, R. (1994). *The study of second language acquisition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Faerch, C., & Kasper, G. (1987) Perspectives on language transfer. *Applied Linguistics, 8*, 111-136.

Herron, C., & Tomasello, M. (1992). Acquiring grammatical structures by guided induction. *The French Review, 65*, 708-718.

Hornberger, N. (1996). Language and education. In S.L. McKay & N.H. Hornberger (Eds.), *Sociolinguistics and second language teaching* (pp. 449-473). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hymes, D. (1986). Models of the interaction of language and social life. In J.J. Gumperz & D.Hymes (Eds.), *Directions in sociolinguistics: The ethnography of communication* (pp. 35-71). Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd.

Kachru, B.B. (1986). *The alchemy of English: The spread, functions and models of non-native Englishes*. Oxford: Pergamon Institute of English.

Kachru, B.B., & Nelson, C.L. (1996). World Englishes. In S.L. McKay & N.H. Hornberger (Eds.), *Sociolinguistics and second language teaching* (pp. 71-102). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kellerman, E. (1984). The empirical evidence for the influence of L1 on interlanguage. In A. Davies, C. Criper, & A.P.R. Howatt (Eds.), *Interlanguage* (pp. 98-121). Edinburgh, Scotland: Edinburgh University Press.

Kramsch, C.J. (1990). What is foreign language learning research? In B. VanPatten & J.F. Lee. *Second language acquisition/Foreign language learning*. Clevedon, Philadelphia: Multilingual Matters Ltd.

Krashen, S.D. (1982). *Principles and practice in second language acquisition*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Krashen, S.D. (1985). *The input hypothesis: Issues and implications*. New York: Longman Group Ltd.

McDonough, J., & Shaw, C. (1993). *Materials and methods in ELT: A teacher's guide*. Oxford: Blackwell.

McGroarty, M. (1996). Language, attitudes, motivation, and standards. In S.L. McKay & N.H.Hornberger (Eds.), *Sociolinguistics and second language teaching* (pp. 3-46). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

McLaughlin, B. (1985). *Second language acquisition in childhood. Vol.2. School-age children*. Hillsdale (NJ): Lawrence Elbaum Associates, Publishers.

Medgyes, P. (1983). The schizophrenic teacher. *ELT Journal*, 37 (1), 2-6.

Nayar, P.B. (1997). ESL/EFL dichotomy today: Language politics or pragmatics? *TESOL Quarterly, 31*, 9-37.

Odlin, T. (1989). *Language transfer: Crosslinguistic influence in language learning*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

O'Dwyer, L.M. (1996). Putting the T in TESOL. *TESOL Matters*, 6 (2), 21.

Paulston, C.B. (1992). *Linguistic and communicative competence: Topics in ESL*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd.

Richards. J., Platt, J.J., & Weber, H. (1985). *The Longman dictionary of applied linguistics*. London: Longman.

Rutherford, W.E. (1987). *Second language grammar. Learning and teaching*. London & New York: Longman.

Savignon, S.J. (1990). In second language acquisition/foreign language learning, nothing is more practical than a good theory. In B. VanPatten & J.F. Lee (Eds.), *Second language acquisition/Foreign language learning* (pp. 185-197). Clevedon, Philadelphia: Multilingual Matters Ltd.

Schweers, C.W. (1997). What do we know? *TESOL Matters, 7* (5), 10.

Seliger, H. (1988). Psycholinguistic issues in second language acquisition. In L. M. Beebe (Ed.), *Issues in second language acquisition* (pp. 17-40). New York: Newbury House Publishers.

Stern, H.H. (1992). *Issues and options in language teaching*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Swain, M. (1985). Communicative competence: Some roles of comprehensible input and comprehensible output in its development. In S.M. Gass & C.G. Madden (Eds.), *Input in second language acquisition* (pp. 235-253). Rowley (MA): Newbury House Publishers.

Tang, C. (1997). On the power and status of the nonnative ESL teachers. *TESOL Quarterly, 31*, 577-580.

Tarnopolsky, O. (1997). Communicative-analytic approach to intensive teaching/learning of English in the Ukraine. In *Proceedings of the 16th International Congress of Linguists* (Paper 0150). Oxford: Pergamon.

Tarnopolsky, O. (1998). Intensive immersion ESP teaching in the Ukraine: Theoretical foundations and practical results. In Joaquim Arnau, Josep M. Artigal (Eds.). *Immersion programmes: A European perspective* (pp. 675-684). Barcelona:

Publicacions de la Universitat de Barcelona.
Towell, R., & Hawkins, R. (1994). *Approaches to second language acquisition*. Clevedon, Philadelphia, Adelaide: Multilingual Matters Ltd.
VanPatten, B. (1990). Theory and research in second language acquisition and foreign language learning: On producers and consumers. In B VanPatten & J.F. Lee (Eds.), *Second language acquisition/Foreign language learning* (pp. 17-26). Clevedon, Philadelphia: Multilingual Matters Ltd.
VanPatten, B., & Cadierno, T. (1993). Input processing and second language acquisition: A role for instruction. *The Modern Language Journal, 77*, 45-57.
VanPatten, B., & Lee, J.F. (1990). Contexts, processes, and products in second language acquisition and foreign language learning. In B. VanPatten & J.F. Lee (Eds.), *Second language acquisition/Foreign language learning* (pp.240-245). Clevedon, Philadelphia: Multilingual Matters Ltd.
Walsh, T.M., & Diller, K.C. (1981). Neurolinguistic considerations on the optimum age for second language learning. In K.C. Diller (Ed.), *Individual differences and universals in language learning aptitude* (pp.3-21). Rowley (MA): Newbury House Publishers.
Widdowson, H.G. (1994). The ownership of English. *TESOL Quarterly, 28*, 377-389.
Wildner-Bassett, M.E. (1990). Coexistence discourse worlds: The development of pragmatic competence inside and outside the classroom. In A. VanPatten & J.F. Lee (Eds.), *Second 1ànguage acquisition/Foreign language learning* (pp. 140-152). Clevedon, Philadelphia: Multilingual Matters Ltd.
Willis, J. (1996). *A framework for task-based learning*. Harlow, England: Longman.
Wolfson, N. (1989). *Perspectives: Sociolinguistics and TESOL*. Boston, MA: Heinle & Heinle Publishers.

Acknowledgments

Work on this article was supported in part by the Regional Scholar Exchange Program, which is funded by the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs of the United States Information Agency (USIA), under authority of the Fulbright-Hays Act of 1961 as amended and administered by the American Councils for International Education: ACTR/ACCELS. The opinions expressed herein are the author's own and do not necessarily express the views of either USIA or the American Council.

Oleg Tarnopolsky is Doctor of Pedagogy, Full Professor at Dnepropetrovsk State Technical University of Railway Transport (Ukraine) where he heads the Foreign Language Department. His research interests are in the field of EFL teaching (especially IEP's, ESP, teaching British and American cultures). He is the author of books and numerous articles on these subjects published not only in the Ukraine and Russia but also in the USA, France, Great Britain, and Spain.

Standards, Exit Exams, and the Politicization of Bilingual Education: The Writing Exit Exam at Hostos College

Diana Schwinge

University of Pennsylvania

Standards based curriculums are being created throughout the world, and exit exams are being implemented in order to make sure that students meet those standards. There is a real potential that these standards will help to improve the achievement of students, but there is also a possibility that these exams will be implemented in a way that will be harmful to English language learners by denying them of a chance for further education and threatening the existence of bilingual education. This paper examines a controversial language planning case, the enforcement of a writing exam requirement at Hostos Community College in New York City. Using Cooper's (1989) accounting framework this policy analysis examines the covert agendas and implicit ideological agendas of actors in this language planning case and identifies points of leverage that can be used to influence similar cases in the future.

Introduction

Around the world there is a trend to control educational reform through the creation of standards based curriculum. These curriculum reforms lead to a system where standards are enforced with exit exams so schools' compliance with these standards and students' mastery of them can be measured. While appropriate standards and tests can improve an educational system, standards can also be misused. In addition, when standards are prescribed by government agencies, the creation of standards and tests becomes an inherently political and ideological act. Thus, the setting the creation of standards and exit exams are a new venue for debating educational issues.

Bilingual education is especially threatened by the new debate over standards and exit exams. First, it is possible that many students in bilingual education programs may fail these exams because exit exams are usually designed for native English speaking students. Thus, these exams are rarely designed to appropriately evaluate the skills of limited English proficient students. If bilingual education

students and other English language learners flunk school exit exams, these inappropriate tests can unfairly impede their graduation and further access to higher education. Second, while bilingual education has many supporters, it also has many enemies that actively look for issues and statistics they can use to attack bilingual education. Low scores on exit exams by students in bilingual programs can be used to embarrass supporters of bilingual education programs and to try to defeat bilingual education. Thus, it is crucial that supporters of bilingual education programs and language minority students understand the planning process and the political system through which standards and exit exams are created, and uncover ways to influence this process so that the way that standards are created and enforced is fair to language minority students in bilingual education programs.

This paper examines a controversial language planning case, the enforcement of a writing exam requirement at Hostos Community College in New York City. In 1997, a mass failure on a writing exam led to student protests, an initial change in graduation requirements, and then action by the Board of Trustees of CUNY (City University of New York) to reinstate the centralized CUNY writing exam as a graduation requirement. While Hostos Community College was not the only school where students had failed the exam, the press focused on the bilingual education program at the college as the reason why students were failing the test. Thus, the dispute over this exit exam led to negative assessments of bilingual education in the press, lawsuits, and the denial of degrees to some Hostos students.

Cooper's Framework

This analysis utilizes Cooper's (1989:98) accounting scheme for language planning to analyze how the writing exit exam at Hostos Community College was implemented in order to identify points of leverage that could be used to prevent problems in other similar cases where standards and exit exams are implemented. Cooper's accounting scheme for language planning is a descriptive framework that can be used to examine a language planning case by asking, "What actors attempt to influence what behaviors of which people for what ends under what conditions by what means through what decision-making process with what effect?" (Cooper 1989:98). In his summary of the accounting scheme of language planning Cooper (1989:97) states that one purpose of description is to identify variables that influence language planning and points of leverage that can be used to change those variables. Bauer (1968, cited in Cooper 1989:97) defines points of leverage as "a person, institution, issue or subsystem...that has the capacity to effect a substantial influence on the output of the system" (Bauer 1968: 21). Thus, the description of this case will be used to determine how the people, institutions, and issues involved in planning standards and exit exams can be influenced and changed so that the outcome of standards based reform movements does not harm language minority students or bilingual education programs.

The structure of this framework has been criticized because its focus on de-

scription has led people to believe that Cooper presumes this type of analysis will lead to an objective account. For example, Moore (1996) wrote that "Cooper's (1989) answer suggests endless description, pseudoscientific methods, and grand theory, all in the name of objectivity" (Moore 1996: 485). However, the purpose of this paper is not to use the framework to create an objective description, suggest a new method of language planning, or propose any grand theories. Instead, the purpose in this framework is closer to that expressed by Fanselow's (1990) review of Cooper's book. "One of the purposes of his [Cooper's] book is to point out for all of us instances of language planning and their possible consequences so that we can study our own predicaments and compare our proposed policies with those others have used" (Fanselow 1991: 650). It is recognized that the description of this language planning case will not be objective, scientific, or include every detail about the case that is being analyzed. Instead, it is acknowledged that all descriptions, including this one, are influenced by the ideologies of their author. Overall, the purpose of the description is to analyze this language planning case in order to identify specific points of leverage that can be used to impact the outcome of similar language planning cases in the future, and to make explicit the assumptions that are made by those who create standards and exit exams.

A Language Planning Case:

The Writing Exit Exam at Hostos Community College

Structural Conditions

In order to understand this case of language planning, it is first necessary to understand the structural conditions and the environment in which Hostos Community College exists. Cooper(1989) defines structural factors as the "...relatively unchanging features of a society's political, economic, social, demographic, and ecological structures" (Cooper 1989: 93). Hostos Community College is located in the South Bronx, New York City. The Bronx as a whole is one of the poorest counties in the United States. The Bronx has a population of 1.2 million people of whom 23% receive public assistance and many live below the poverty line. In addition, 41.5% of adults living in the Bronx don't have a high school diploma, and only 37.3% of Bronx children under the age of ten live with both their parents ("Bronx Page" 1999: web page). Violence and poor health care also create low life expectancies. This concentration of poverty is related to the racial segregation of New York City. As a result of this segregation, the residents of the South Bronx are almost entirely from ethnic minority groups. The largest ethnic group are Puerto Ricans (36.7%), while there are also large numbers of African Americans (33.5%), Dominicans (11.8%), and other Hispanics (9.0%) ("Bronx Page" 1999: web page). In the midst of this concentration of poverty, Hostos Community College stands out as a special and very important community institution.

Hostos Community College was created as a result of the activism of the Puerto Rican community in the South Bronx. It opened to its first class

of students in 1970 in a former tire factory (Saltonstall 1997:43). Hostos was the first bilingual higher education institution in the continental United States, and is the only institution of higher education on the mainland to be named after a Puerto Rican ("Hostos Community College" 1999: web page). While it has served as a resource for thousands of students, its existence has sometimes been threatened. It was almost forced to merge with another college in 1976, and the state senate was forced to pass a special act, the Landes Higher Education Act, to protect its existence("Hostos Community College" 1999: web page). Hostos has recently improved its facilities with $120 million dollars of new construction, including two theaters, an art gallery, and new computer and recreation facilities (Gonzalez 1997: 22). Hostos College also provides a variety of important services for the South Bronx including providing legal assistance to women and those who are HIV positive, environmental programs for the residents of the South Bronx, and special training in math and science for high school students (Luhrs 1996: 7). Thus, Hostos Community College is a special resource for the residents of the South Bronx, and one that they have fought hard to preserve when it has been endangered by political or social forces.

Targets and Actors

In addition to the structural factors, it is necessary to be aware of the people who were involved or affected by this language planning controversy. Cooper (1989:88) describes the targets of a language policy as those whose behavior and lives the policy affects. There are 4,200 students at Hostos (Bowles 1998: A28). Of these students, 80% are Hispanic, 80% women, and 40% are on welfare (Gonzalez 1997: 22).

Cooper (1989: 88) defines the actors in a language planning case as those who create or influence the creation of the language policy. One type of actors are authorities; those who actually have the power to create and enforce policies. Hostos College is part of the CUNY (City University of New York) system. In this case, the appointed Board of Trustees for CUNY are the authorities who determine the graduation requirements from the various colleges that comprise CUNY. The Board of Trustees of CUNY has 17 members. Of these 17 members, ten are appointed by the governor, five are appointed by the mayor, one is a student, and one faculty member is a non-voting member (Healy & Schmidt 1998: A21). The governor and mayor choose people to serve on the board who they believe will further their own desires for the CUNY system. In 1996 the mayor and the governor jointly announced that those goals were to cut the cost of CUNY, raise standards in the system, and depoliticize the curriculum ("Bruno, Stop Stalling" 1996: 20). Those chosen for the trustees also frequently have a close connection to the politicians who appoint them. For example, of four new members who the mayor appointed in 1996, three held jobs in the mayor's administration (Healy & Schmidt 1998: A21). Thus, the trustees are chosen because they believe in a certain set of goals and have a loyalty that may influence their votes on certain issues. The only legal

check on the power of the Trustees are the state courts. If New York citizens want to challenge the decisions of the Board of Trustees, they can file a lawsuit in the State Supreme Court. The judgment of this court can then be appealed to the State Appeals Court.

However, the Board of Trustees does not make its decisions in isolation. The administration and faculty of CUNY, elected officials, the press, and think tanks also attempt to influence the members of the Board of Trustees. The administrators and faculty of CUNY include the chief administrator of the CUNY system (the University Chancellor), the presidents of each of the various colleges that comprise CUNY, and the Council of Faculty Governance Leaders. Also, various additional elected officials and politicians can have an influence on the policies that are set for CUNY. These include New York City assemblymen, borough presidents, state senators, and mayoral candidates. Another influential group is the press. The content of articles and editorials can influence public opinion. The important papers in influencing this case were The New York Times, the Daily News, Newsday, and the Spanish language newspaper, El Diario. In addition to groups that primarily influence public opinion, there are also groups that influence the politicians and the Board of regents directly through reports and presentations. An example of this is two conservative think tanks, the Manhattan Institute and the Empire Foundation for Policy Research. Thus, there are many influential groups who can apply pressure on decisions, and influence the outcome of the Board of Trustees.

Behaviors

Frohock (1979, cited in Cooper 1989:90) states that in the field of language planning behaviors should be defined as what the actors want to accomplish and how they go about making sure that this is achieved. In this case, the behavior that the decision-makers wanted to enforce was having students at Hostos Community College demonstrate language and writing proficiency by passing the CUNY exit exam, and this was to be achieved through the ESL and English instruction at Hostos. The CUNY writing exam was first required in the 1970's ("Hostos Web Site" 1997: 40). The format of the exam is a persuasive essay that the students answer from a short prompt. The essays are graded by two professors at the English department of the school, and if they don't agree on the score, a third professor determines the score. The ideas of the essay can be "somewhat rudimentary or incomplete," the vocabulary can be "oversimplified," and the spelling, grammar, and punctuation must only be "reasonably accurate" (Buettner 1997: 7). Students at Hostos are given extensive ESL and English instruction in order to learn English better and prepare for the exam. ESL students take a course that meets ten-and-a-half hours a week. Students also take English composition before graduation ("Hostos Community College" 1999: Web site). In addition, Hostos sometimes offers intensive courses to help the students pass the exam (Gonzalez 1997: 8).

Informational Conditions

Cooper (1989) suggest that since behaviors are inherently political and ideological it is essential to examine the information conditions in language planning cases. In the case of the Hostos College exit exam it can be asked: What is assumed by the people who create and mandate this test, and are those assumptions supported by current theories of second language acquisition and language learning?

The assumption of the Board of Trustees and the people who have created the CUNY writing exam appears to be that English proficiency is a unitary construct. Thus, if students can achieve a passing score on specific reading and writing exams then they are English proficient, and if they fail then they are not proficient in English. However, Ward (1998: 65) challenges the idea that English proficiency is a unitary construct that can be determine by one writing exam. Instead, he assumes that acquiring English proficiency is a process, and students can be proficient enough in English to master many tasks while being unable to do others.

There are two aspects of the CUNY writing test that make it inappropriate to use as an overall measure of English proficiency. First, the construct of the CUNY writing exam uses impromptu writing with a time limit to measure English proficiency. This is the test format that is most difficult for English language learners, and is not a task that they will be frequently called upon to do in their classes or their future jobs. In most real-life writing situations, students will have enough time to revise while doing writing tasks, the opportunity to consult dictionaries and other reference guides to English grammar, and perhaps even have their writing checked by a native speaker.

Second, those who are familiar with the exam say that most students who fail the exam do so because their writing is judged to have excessive mistakes in spelling or grammar, especially the use of articles and prepositions (Biederman 1997: 19). Studies in second language acquisition have shown that while some grammatical constructions are acquired quickly by English language learners, others are more difficult and may take many years to acquire. Since articles and prepositions are difficult items to acquire in the English language, many students who are generally proficient in English may continue to make some types of mistakes for years. These grammar mistakes, however, do not necessarily imply a lack of overall English language proficiency. Having an imperfect mastery of English grammar does not mean that students can not be successful learners or workers in their second language. The timed nature of this exam and its focus on grammatical accuracy means that it may be an inappropriate way to measure the English proficiency of limited English proficient students.

The Decision-Making Process, Means, and Effects

Now that the structural conditions in which Hostos Community College operates, the people involved in the case, the CUNY writing exam, and the assumption of the exam creators have been reviewed, it is possible to examine the details of the case of the implementation of the exit exam at the college. The CUNY writing test

was first established as a graduation requirement in 1978. By the middle of the 1980's, the test was also being used as a placement exam, and students who did not pass the writing exam were forced to stay in remedial English classes until they passed (Arenson 1997: 1A).

However, by the 1990's, the validity and the reliability of the test were challenged. For example, in 1990 a CUNY professor, Dr. Otheguy, wrote a study "The Condition of Latinos in the City University of New York" which criticized the CUNY writing test saying, "[the test] lacks systematic supporting validation research, [and] relies on single measures against the advice of authorities in the area of testing" (Rodriguez 1997: 10). This report was followed by another report in 1992 and a faculty committee recommendation in 1995 which suggested that the writing test should not be the only criterion used to judge whether students can leave remedial English classes. In 1996 yet another faculty report recommended that a new test be developed. While the Board of Trustees never took a vote on changing the writing test, many of the colleges in the CUNY system followed the recommendations in the reports and developed their own exit criteria that did not include the CUNY writing test (Arenson 1997: 1A).

At the same time that faculty committees were recommending that the writing test be modified, students at Hostos community college were also complaining about the test. In 1995, only 20% of Hostos students who took the CUNY writing test passed it. The students who did not pass the test were forced to take the same five-credit course year after year. Students who were unhappy about being unable to pass the test met with Hostos administrators several times. Trying to improve the situation, Hostos created its own writing test. However, when Hostos used its own test in 1996, only 12.8% of the students taking the test passed. During the winter intersession in 1997 Hostos gave intensive workshops for the students who still needed to pass the writing assessment test. Eight hundred students went to class for twenty hours a week during their break, and 60% of them passed the test. In spring of 1997, Hostos again used its own exam. All the students who took the test failed. After the failures, the students decided to boycott the exams (Gonzalez 1997: 8). When the students protested, administrators at Hostos dropped the test as a graduation requirement (Buettner 1997: 6).

The fact that the writing test had been dropped as a graduation requirement was not widely known in New York City until May 21, 1997 when the Daily News published an article stating that Hostos had changed its graduation policy. The next day, the chief administrator of the CUNY system, Chancellor Reynolds, ruled that all future students must pass the CUNY writing test before graduating. (Buettner 1997: 6) To make sure that the Chancellor's ruling was carried out, on May 27, 1997, at the CUNY Trustees Meeting, Trustee Badillo introduced a resolution that forced the students to pass the CUNY writing test or be denied graduation. At the meeting, Chancellor Reynolds told the trustees that Hostos was the only college that was not requiring the test for graduation. None of the other community college presidents clarified that they also did not require the test (Buettner 1997:6). The CUNY Trustees rebuked Hostos for "low-

ering the standards." Then, the CUNY trustees unanimously voted to have the CUNY writing test be a condition for graduation at all colleges (Buettner 1997:6)

Negative press coverage of Hostos' bilingual program continued as the students struggled to pass the CUNY writing test before their graduation which was just a few days away. On May 30 and 31, 1997, the students came to Hostos to take the test. However, only 13 out of 104 students who took the English writing test as a new graduation requirement passed. Thirty-six additional students didn't show up to take the test. There were varying accounts expressed in the press about the reason why the students were failing the exam. One of the CUNY trustees, Badillo, said that the low scores show that the students "just haven't mastered the English language... This is pathetic. It shows we have to review the whole operation there" (Buettner 1997:7). However, Yamille Mendez, Hostos' student government president, said that the students failed because the exam was given on short notice. Mendez believed that "The students had no time to study, to practice" (Buettner 1997:7).

Hostos Community College decided to allow all the students who had flunked the CUNY writing test but had finished all of the other requirements for graduation to attend the commencement ceremonies on June 1, 1997. During the commencement the students and the invited speakers conducted what one editorialist for the Daily News reported was a "four-hour political rally that passed for graduation exercise" ("Hot air at Hostos" 1997: 30). Democratic Assemblyman Ramirez said that "You and I are not supposed to speak English, but I have never heard the national anthem sound so pretty as when you sang it today" (Buettner 1997: 8). Ramirez also criticized those who issued and supported the order to make the students take the last minute test. He said that Herman Badillo was "someone who is one of us and forgot where he came from." At the end of his speech Ramirez shouted: "You tell them to hang their heads in shame. You tell them you are not afraid of tests. You are not afraid of standards just double standards" (Buettner 1997: 8). He reaffirmed the importance of bilingual education by saying "As we study English, we must honor our Spanish, too" ("Hot air at Hostos" 1997: 30). Bronx Borough President Ferrer supported Ramirez's comments by saying that the standards issue was just "political ping pong" ("Hot air at Hostos" 1997: 30). The press reported on the graduation exercise, and again publicly denounced bilingual education for creating radical students who could not meet academic standards.

On June 4, 1997, after the bilingual education program at Hostos had been attacked in the press for days, CUNY officials finally revealed that other community colleges had also not required the CUNY test. Yamile Mendez, the president of the Hostos Student Government, said that the attacks on Hostos were unfair. "I would argue that if they're going to pull this on Hostos they have to pull it on everybody" (Buettner 1997:22). In response, Paolucci, the chairwoman of the CUNY board of trustees, said that the trustees would make community colleges withhold the diplomas of all students who had not met the English requirement. On June 4, the Chancellor's office estimated that 200 graduating students at three

colleges (Bronx Community College, Borough of Manhattan Community College and La Guardia Community College) would be affected.

The next day, CUNY officials revealed that 541 students had not passed the English Proficiency Test. These students included 127 students at Hostos Community College, and 414 students at four other community colleges (Queensborough, Borough of Manhattan, La Guardia, and Bronx Community College). Only Kingsborough Community College was requiring the test for graduation. The community colleges were told by the CUNY administration to offer free summer English courses for these students to prepare them to take the test. State Senator Stavisky introduced a bill in the state legislature that would give these students a two-year grace period to pass the test. According to the bill, they would get provisional diplomas for two years or until they passed the test. The State Senator said, "I have respect for standards, but there has to be a more humane way of dealing with these students" ("CUNY says" 1997: B7).

The press reported on June 6, 1997 that the three community college presidents whose students hadn't passed the CUNY writing test were present at the May 27th meeting when Chancellor Ann Reynolds told trustees that Hostos was the only campus not requiring the test. Although they had known the Chancellor's information about the use of the test was wrong, they didn't say anything at the meeting. Badillo told the press that the silence of the presidents was "inexcusable. To sit there and let the trustees pass a resolution concerning something where the information is incorrect is unforgivable" (Buettner 1997:6). Later that week, the Council of Faculty Governance Leaders passed a resolution that expressed regret "about the public savaging of Hostos." The trustees did not respond to the resolution (Buettner 1997:6). While the press and opponents of bilingual education had blamed the test failures on bilingual education daily for almost two weeks, there were no articles in the press that attempted to correct the public's perception that bilingual education had caused the failures.

The students decided that the CUNY Board of Trustees had created the writing test requirement unfairly, and on June 23, 1997 five Hostos students filed a lawsuit to have the CUNY test rescinded as a requirement for graduation from community college ("Hostos Victory" 1997: 32). At the court hearing, Chancellor Reynolds stated that Hostos Community College had broken the CUNY rules by setting up its own proficiency test without notifying the Chancellor's office. The lawyers for the Hostos students used course catalogs and reports to attempt to prove that the college had frequently made changes in the graduation requirements without any formal approval. Hostos President Santiago testified that Hostos was within its rights to change its examination procedures without approval from the trustees (Arenson 1997: B4). Less than a month later, Judge Thompson ruled that the students could get their diplomas without passing the writing test. Thompson said that Badillo's resolution on May 27th "was not based on informed, lucid and cogent deliberative processes." He further maintained that graduation criteria "should not be retroactively imposed in haste...Such conduct by educators is arbi-

trary and capricious, and in the present case must be held to be undertaken in bad faith" (Buettner 1997:6). The lawyers for the city filed an appeal so that the students could not get their diplomas until the Appellate Division ruled on the case (Buettner 1997:6). Unfortunately, during the process of the appeal, all the paperwork for the case was lost, so the appeal was delayed (Rodriguez 1997:10).

While the initial court ruling was in favor of the Hostos students, the story was far from over as articles that negatively presented bilingual education continued to be published. In September of 1997 it was reported that the students at Hostos did poorly in the remedial summer English courses that were designed to help them pass the writing test. 95% of the Hostos students who took the classes had failed the writing test again. These failures led to attacks on CUNY officials, and on September 15, 1997 Ann Reynolds resigned as chancellor after she was heavily attacked by the trustees (Buettner 1997:28). At the meeting of the CUNY Board of Trustees, Badillo attacked the members of the Hostos administration for low graduation rates, for scheduling too many classes in Spanish, and for the low summer pass rate on the writing exam. He said that Hostos President Santiago was doing a poor job.

In response to Badillo's complaints, Hostos students and other members of the public began to publicly attack Badillo. First, seventy-five Hostos students went and protested outside CUNY headquarters, screaming, "Hey, hey, ho, ho, Badillo has to go" (Buettner 1997: 4). Then, the dispute formally became an issue in the mayoral campaign on October 16, 1997 when Ruth Messinger, a Democratic mayoral candidate, attacked Badillo for his work as a trustee. Since Badillo was supported by Mayor Giuliani, this was in effect an attack on the Republican mayor. She said that Badillo and others in the CUNY debate, "might best be described as having climbed up the ladder themselves, and when they got to the top, turned around and pulled the ladder up after them" (Finnegan & Siegel 1997:7). Giuliani did not issue a response, but the press again printed negative articles about bilingual education at Hostos.

The most negative press about bilingual education was printed in unsigned editorials in the Daily News. Upset about the continuing editorials and the threat to Hostos, on October 21, 1997 about 30 students of Hostos protested in front of the Daily News building. No representatives of the Daily News would come down to talk to the students. The students protested because they felt that the editorials of the Daily News unfairly claimed that Hostos students graduated without knowing English and without meeting the standards of the CUNY system. The secretary of the Student Senate said,

> "Los editoriales de este diario son racistas y discriminan contra los estudiantes minoritarios del sistema universitario de esta ciudad y contra los estudiantes de Hostos...El problema es que los métodos pedagógicos no se adaptan a las necesidades de los estudiantes bilingües y por eso debemos

> reformarlos. Pero el Daily News ha dicho que nosotros no queremos aprender...y eso es mentira" ("The editorials of this newspaper are racist and discriminate against minority students in the university system, in the city, and against students at Hostos...The problem is that teaching methods are not adapted to the needs of bilingual students and thus they need to be reformed. But the Daily News has said that we don't want to learn... and that is a lie") (Castano 1997: 2).

This demonstration was only reported in the Spanish language press, and the students' ideas about bilingual education were not reported by any of the English language papers.

Throughout the fall, the negative reports about Hostos and its bilingual education system continued The pressure built on Santiago, who had been the president of Hostos for eleven years, to resign. Santiago finally agreed to resign because she thought it was necessary to save Hostos College. She was quoted as saying, "I just want to save the mission of Hostos as a bilingual school for the most needy" (Gonzalez 1997:22). Newsday reported that she resigned "under fire because of the failure of a substantial number of students to pass an English proficiency test" (Bowles 1998: A28).

With some of the opponents of the CUNY writing test forced from office, the Board of Trustees was able to approve a controversial plan to eliminate remedial education programs at CUNY's four-year schools and institute a new exit exam for community college graduates. The new system was first proposed by Mayor Giuliani and was backed by Governor Pataki. On May 26, 1998 the Board of Trustees approved a measure that students who could not pass the CUNY writing test could not enter the four-year schools. The Board of Trustees did make an exemption in the plan for students educated in foreign high schools who could show that they needed no remedial work even though they failed the CUNY writing exam (Arenson 1998: A1). CUNY students and their supporters came to protest at the meeting. The 75 demonstrators disrupted the meeting to the extent that Paolucci had to have the room cleared before a vote could be taken on the measure. Twenty people were arrested on charges of disorderly conduct and criminal trespassing including Democratic Assemblyman Sullivan who was the chairman of the Assembly Higher Education Committee (Bowles & Janison 1998: A6).

Finally on December 11, 1998 the state appeals court gave a unanimous ruling that students from CUNY must pass the writing test before they receive a diploma ("CUNY reform" 1998: 70). The students at Hostos had lost their battle to get their diplomas and have appropriate requirements set for a community college degree. Two years after the students intended date of graduation, there were seventy-five Hostos College students who had planned to graduate in Spring of 1997 who still had not received their diplomas (Gonzalez 1999: 6).

The imposition of the writing test as a requirement to graduate from Hostos

College also has had lasting effects on the enrollment and graduation rates of the school. In 1996 before the writing test controversy, 5,500 students were enrolled at Hostos College, but by the fall of 1999 the enrollment was only 3,200 students. While a part of this drop in enrollment may be the result of 600 students who were forced to drop out of school when the city decided that work study on the campuses of city colleges would stop counting as hours of employment for the workfare program, part of the drop has also been blamed on the discouragement that some students felt at being unable to pass the writing test (Sugarman 1999: 3). While the constant coverage of the problems at Hostos College receded from the newspapers, the effects of the writing test controversy still hang over Hostos College.

Overt and Covert Ends

From the responses that emerged from the enforcement of the writing exam, it is possible to see that this is not just a case of educational concern about low test scores. Thus, it is important to analyze what issues beside the writing test were being debated through the controversy about the writing test, and what overt and covert agendas were being furthered through the debate. These issues include: the value of a bilingual education, the effectiveness of bilingual education at Hostos Community College, the political futures of some elected officials, the downsizing of CUNY due to budget cutbacks, the power minorities were gaining in the political system, and educational genocide.

It is possible that the covert end of some actors in this case was to attack and try to end bilingual education in higher education in New York. They used the low passing rate of Hostos students on the writing test to call into question the effectiveness of using the model of bilingual education at Hostos, and the effectiveness of bilingual education in general. Since students could not pass the writing test, a report from a conservative think tank assumed that "[Hostos] does not appear to facilitate students' progress toward the stated goal of mastering English" (Saltonstall 1997: 43). Beliefs about the ineffectiveness of language instruction at Hostos spread to encompass the entire work of the college. As Badillo said to the press, "Bilingual education has been a complete failure [at Hostos]. It's time to rethink the school's mission" ("In any language" 1997:58). Others questioned the utility of the Spanish portion of the bilingual education. As the outgoing head of the English department at Hostos, Villanueva, was quoted as saying, "We have created what I call an imaginary community. But where is the bilingual society where these students will find a job?" (Saltonstall 1997:43). These comments were repeated by the press, especially in editorials in the Daily News. For example, one editorial commented about whether Hostos students will be able to use their skills in Spanish.

> "Really? Where? Mexico? Paraguay? Certainly not here, unless the ultimate 'career goal' is to work in a bodega.

> Hostos isn't bilingual; it's monolingual, and the lingual (sic) is Spanish. A noble tongue, Spanish. But it is not the language of business and commerce in New York...The Hostos results raise serious questions about whether the place should exist at all" ("Hostos Web Site" 1997: 40).

Thus, the issue of whether or not Hostos students could pass one specific writing test led to comments about whether bilingual education was effective, whether Hostos should exist at all, and whether bilingual education was useful in American society.

It also appears that the debate over the writing test continued partly because the debate served the personal interests of some politicians. It was stated often in the case that the debate over exit exams at Hostos was based more on political consideration than what was educationally sound. For example, Santiago, the President of Hostos, remarked to the media, "Los argumentos en contra de los programas de educación bilingüe son políticos, no pedagógicos." (The arguments against bilingual education programs are political, not pedagogical) (Arce 1995: 26). It is possible that politicians such as Badillo were being tough on standards to establish their identities as conservative politicians. Prior to 1998, Badillo was a Democratic politician who had been the first Puerto Rican Bronx borough president and a member of the U.S. House of Representatives. However, several of his attempts to become the Democratic candidate for mayor had been frustrated by other minority candidates. Thus, on July 2, 1998, Badillo switched his political allegiance to the Republican Party. He also declared that he was planning a fourth run for mayor, this time as a Republican. When Badillo was asked about running for mayor he said, "I'm not going to be coy. It's certainly possible and it certainly makes sense" (Borrero 1998: 3). In preparation for his run for mayor, it is possible that he used his position on the Vice President of the Board of Trustees as CUNY to establish a more conservative image for himself. Instead of taking the liberal stance of supporting bilingual education, he adopted the conservative stance and attacked it. Also, instead of adopting the liberal political position of supporting open admissions and educational opportunities for recent immigrants, he endorsed the more conservative positions of creating standards in order to reduce admissions and limit access to higher education. Thus, it is possible that some of the rhetoric surrounding this language planning case was motivated by the political ambitions of some of the actors.

It was also suggested that the debate over the CUNY writing test was motivated by a desire to downsize the university and spend less money on the CUNY system. As one Hostos professor, Dr. Torres-Saillant, said, "The real issue at CUNY is the downsizing of the university" (Rodriguez 1997: 10). This is supported by critics' views of Mr. Carroll who runs the conservative think-tank the Empire Foundation for Policy Research. They say, "To his critics, Mr. Carroll's push for 'higher standards'—which he describes as

higher graduation rates, stronger general-education requirements, and less remediation, among other things—is a Republican subterfuge to deny access to students" (Healy 1998: A23). The drop in enrollment at Hostos College that has occurred since that writing test was imposed as an exit requirement provides further evidence that one of the implicit goals of requiring the writing test was to deny some students access to higher education.

In addition, one of the three goals of the newly appointed members of the CUNY Board of Trustees was to save money. The most effective way to save money at the university is to enroll fewer students. However, since there are many people in the city of New York who want to continue their education, it is hard to deny them entrance outright. By setting standards, such as the CUNY writing exam, that keep many from entering CUNY and earning a degree, the number of students in the CUNY schools can be reduced. Also, if a campus of CUNY can be closed, even more money can be saved. By attacking the mission of Hostos, political forces can give a reason why the school should be closed. Thus, the debate over standards may be more a debate over whether money should be spent to educate students rather than a debate over whether students can pass a writing test.

It is also possible that another covert end in this language planning case was to contain and reduce the power that minorities and those of lower socio-economic class. Since the students at Hostos and their supporters were willing to protest against the unfairness of the test, some made an issue of how the city's political system was being challenged. As Heather MacDonald wrote in a report from the conservative think tank The Manhattan Institute, on the enforcement of the writing test:

> "[CUNY] Once a loose aggregate of elite colleges for the ambitious poor, it is now a bloated bureaucracy that jettisoned academic standards in the face of a flood of ill-prepared students. CUNY all but perfected the dismaying 1960s spectacle of educated adults cowering before know-nothing adolescents and outside agitators" (Harden 1998: A3).

It is interesting that conservatives would comment that the students were "adolescents" since most Hostos students are older than that, and also to mention "outside agitators" since their supporters were mostly New York City residents who are faculty at CUNY or long-standing politicians. This quote is in essence a comparison between the "educated" faculty and Board of Trustees of CUNY and the "know-nothing" students. Since the comparison is referring back to the 1960's when the Puerto Rican community was first established as a political force in the city, it is possible that what is feared is not really a public policy based on a lack of knowledge, but rather protests leading to more political and social power for minorities. Thus, one issue being debated through the standards movement is who should have control over the educational system: minority residents in New York or the elites of the Board of Trustees.

It is also possible that some actors have a covert agenda to use standards to deprive minority students of future economic power. In this view, the writing test requirement can be seen as a purposeful racist action to deny minority students an education, and thus deprive them of a basic resource that they need to survive in American society. For example, Ronald McGuire, the attorney who represented the students in their lawsuit said,

> "The real issue at Hostos has little to do with tests. The issue is that CUNY is at war with its students... This is not about tests or budget cutbacks. It's about educational genocide. This is the first time the trustees have been appointed by a Republican governor and mayor, and to them, Black and Latino students are expendable. When European immigrants were in the majority, CUNY went out of its way to meet their needs" (Rodriguez 1997: 10).

The writing test requirement could be seen as an action that was purposefully done to deprive minority students of a chance for an education, and to perpetrate educational genocide. Thus, overall, the debate over the CUNY writing test was used to bring up many other issues, and possibly advance the covert agendas of several groups.

Points of Leverage

Given the gravity of what is at stake in cases of the implementation of standards based curriculum and exit exams, it is important to use this analysis to determine some points of leverage that those who support bilingual education and language minority students can use. These points of leverage are clearly related to the conditions of society and the ends that the actors in the system are pursuing.

First, the analysis of the informational conditions of this case shows that one possible point of leverage may be to educate influentials in the system about second language acquisition and ESL writers. For example, if the English faculty at the CUNY community colleges learned more about second language acquisition and second language writing, they might grade the exams differently. Perhaps the tests could also be graded by ESL teachers at the community college, since these faculty members have a special understanding of how ESL students compose essays. Also, the politicians and members of the Board of Trustees of CUNY need to be educated about the exit test, so they know what type of test is appropriate to mandate for second language learners.

If it is true that some actors are using exit exams as a way to challenge bilingual education, then one point of leverage may be to show that limited English proficient students who are not in bilingual programs are also having difficulties with exit exams. In the case of Hostos, it took many days before it was shown

that failing the exit exam was a problem across the CUNY system and not just a problem in a bilingual institution. Also, actors in the system who support bilingual education should try to keep the focus of the debate on the appropriateness of the construct of the test, not on the effectiveness of the educational method used to instruct students. In other words, it is not that the students, teachers, or institutions are at fault, but rather that the test doesn't measure English proficiency.

Since it seems that some actors have the end goal of reducing educational opportunities for minority students in order to save money it would help to expose this covert end explicitly in the media. Since they support their goals through reports produced by conservative think tanks, there is a need for liberal think tanks or academics to produce reports that reveal the flaws in the research against bilingual education and exit exams that don't really measure English proficiency. These reports could be released to the media so that they would have a source of information to use to contradict the reports from conservative think tanks in their articles.

In addition, it is possible that what is really being debated through standards is the balance of political and economic power in society. Thus, one point of leverage is for the users and supporters of bilingual education to gain more political power. It would help if groups such as students and faculty who disagreed with the writing exit exams were more proactive. In New York, standards are set by boards that are appointed by elected officials. Thus, one possible way of affecting standards and reducing the threats to bilingual education is to elect politicians who support bilingual education and the rights of minorities. An additional point of leverage is to protest. However, these protests require that citizens be better informed about how language policy decisions like the exit exam at CUNY effect the people in their community. It is especially important for more articles about exit exams and their effects to appear in the Spanish language press.

Also, another point of leverage is for the targets and influentials to use the power that they do have most effectively. In the CUNY case, the students and faculty got stuck in a cycle of power sequencing with the Board of Trustees. Cooper gives a clear definition of Frey's (1980, cited in Cooper 1989: 84) concept of power sequencing when he says, "In power sequencing, A's attempt to influence B may be met by B's refusal to comply or by B's partial compliance or by some kind of evasion on B's part. Then A must try again, an attempt which is followed by another response, and so on, until B complies or until A modifies the original goal or gives up on it" (Cooper 1989: 84). In this case, the people who opposed the CUNY writing exit exam reacted to the actions of the Board of Trustees, rather than acting proactively. For example, they initially protested only after failing the exam, they filed a lawsuit after they had been denied a diploma, and they protested at the Daily News after many negative editorials had already been printed. The reactive stance of the protesters means that it is hard for the Board of Trustees to change their minds without being seen as having lost and given in to the students, and allows the press to "scoop" stories about the test which lead to negative

editorials. Thus, if the students can focus the public's attention on the exit exam as the real issue to be debated, expose the covert ends of the actors who oppose them, try to win support from key actors in the case through the political process, and have proactive rather than reactive responses, then they have a greater chance of influencing language planning policy.

Conclusion

Standards based curriculums are being created throughout the world, and exit exams are being implemented in order to make sure that students meet those standards. There is a real potential that these standards will help to improve the achievement of students, but there is also a possibility that these exams will be implemented in a way that will be harmful to English language learners by denying them of a chance for further education. The exam results may also be used to threaten bilingual education. Since it is unlikely that these exit exams will be eliminated, it is important that those people who support English language learners in our schools examine how to work with government boards to influence language policy, and create appropriate means of assessment for English language learners. Those who support English language learners and bilingual education are not against standards, but should be against exit exams that do not take into account appropriate ways of measuring English language proficiency.

Bilingual students, many of them recent immigrants, should be held to high levels of achievement, but the tests used to measure that achievement must actually be designed to be valid assessments of the capabilities of English language learners. To be effective in reaching this goal, it must be realized that some people have covert agendas to be pursued though the setting of standards and the creation of exit exams. Through describing language planning cases using a framework such as Cooper's accounting framework, we can identify points of leverage that can be used to influence similar cases in the future. The debate over how to implement higher standards for the CUNY system through the use of entrance and exit exams still is continuing today. In addition, in New York City public high schools standards are also being enforced through the new use of the Regents exams as a required exam for all high school students. Thus, it is useful to closely examine cases such as the writing exit test at Hostos Community College to identify points of leverage that can be used to ensure that problems similar to those that occurred at Hostos College are avoided in similar cases in the future. From this language planning case it is clear that those who care about the future of English language learners and bilingual education must be vigilant in ensuring the appropriateness of standards and exit exams.

References

Arce, M. (1995, December 9). Las guerras en torno a la educación bilingüe. *El Diario*, 26.

Arenson, K. (1997, June 5). Diplomas in doubt at 3 more CUNY schools. *The New York Times*, A1.
Arenson, K. (1997, June 24). CUNY chancellor responds to accusations on tests. *The New York Times*, B4.
Arenson, K. (1998, May 27). CUNY to tighten admissions policy at 4-year schools. *The New York Times*, A1.
Arenson, K. (1998, November 24). CUNY approves stiffer test intended to gauge writing ability. *The New York Times*, B7.
Biederman, M. (1997, June 7). English is an art, not a science. *The New York Times*, 19.
Borrero, G. (1998, June 25). Herman Badillo: de burro a elefante. *El Diario*, 3.
Bowles, P. (1998, January 8). Hostos president quits over low test scores. *Newsday*, A28.
Bowles, P. & Janison, D. (1998, May 27). Remedial Removal/CUNY will end programs at senior colleges. *Newsday*, A6.
(1999). Bronx page. [Online]. Available: http://www.cuny.edu/~bosworth [1999, March 5].
Bruno, stop stalling on CUNY. (1996, June 24). *Daily News (New York)*, 20.
Buettner, R. (1997, June 2). Emotional Hostos graduation. *Daily News (New York)*, 8.
Buettner, R. (1997, June 4). 91 Hostos students fail English test. *Daily News (New York)*, 7.
Buettner, R. (1997, June 5). CUNY test is out at 2nd College. *Daily News (New York)*, 22.
Buettner, R. (1997, June 6). Other colleges cut English. *Daily News (New York)*, 6.
Buettner, R. (1997, June 6). Test regs are history lesson in confusion." *Daily News (New York)*. 6.
Buettner, R. (1997, July 15). Judge flunks Hostos on test. *Daily News (New York)*, 6.
Buettner, R. (1997, October 1). CUNY bigs: the write test was all wrong. *Daily News (New York)*, 4.
Buettner, R. (1997, November 23). CCNY's fall from grace seeking new head of class for makeover of university. *Daily News (New York)*, 28.
Castano, J. (1997, October 22). Estudiantes protestan frente al Daily News. *El Diario*, 2.
Cooper, R. (1989). *Language planning and social change*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
CUNY reform inches along. (1998, December 11). *Daily News (New York)*, 70.
Fanselow, J. (1991). Book review. *Teachers College Record*, 92(4), 646-650.
Finnegan, M. & Siegel, J. (1997). Ruth: open-door CUNY Rudy hit on exam, tuition. *Daily News (New York)*, 7.
Gonzalez, J. (1997, May 22). At CUNY, it's English as a double language. *Daily News (New York)*, 8.
Gonzalez, J. (1997, December 29). Facts don't matter much in CUNY's quest for Hostos prez head. *Daily News (New York)*, 22.
Gonzalez, J. (1999, June 15). CUNY study slammed Badillo's pet test. *Daily News (New York)*, 6.
Harden, B. (1998, June 2). Reading, writing, and ruckus; city university of New York's tougher standards anger many. *The Washington Post*, A3.
Healy, P. (1998). A conservative strategist provides ammunition for critics of SUNY and CUNY. *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, A23.
Healy, P. & Schmidt, P. (1998). In New York, a 'standards revolution' or the gutting of public colleges?; conservative trustees at SUNY and CUNY set a controversial new course for 2 mammoth systems. *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, A21.
(1999). Hostos Community College. [Online]. Available: http://www.hostos.cuny.edu/overview [1999, March 5].

Hostos victory a CUNY failure. (1997, July 16). *Daily News (New York)*, 32.
Hostos web site: www.flunk. (1997, June 5). *Daily News (New York)*, 40.
Hot air at Hostos. (1997, June 3). *Daily News (New York)*, 30.
In any language, Hostos flunks. (1997, August 3). *Daily News (New York)*, 58.
Luhrs, J. (1996). Community Colleges: Placing the emphasis on 'community'. *The Hispanic Outlook in Higher Education*, *7*(5), 7.
Moore, H. (1996). Language policies as virtual reality: two Australian examples. *TESOL Quarterly*, *30*(3), 473-497.
Rodriguez, R. (1997). You say tomato, I say tomate: Bilingual controversy at CUNY-Hostos revolves around final exam. *Black Issues in Higher Education*, *14*(15), 10.
Saltonstall, D. (1997). Communication problem: debate rages over minimizing English at Bronx college. *Daily News (New York)*, 43.
Sugarman, R. (1999). Hostos prez sez turnabout is going well. *Daily News (New York)*, 3.
Ward, M. (1998). Myths about college English as a second language. *Educational Digest*, 65.

Diana Schwinge is a doctoral student in the Educational Linguistics program at the University of Pennsylvania. Her research interests include discourse analysis, methods of second language instruction, and language planning.

67

Participant Framework in Tutor Training

Tamara Shane Sniad

University of Pennsylvania

In the new peer tutor training sessions at a northeastern university, a high level of interaction among the tutor trainer and trainees is one way the staff measures the success of the sessions. Within the limited time frame of two hours, however, the trainer must also impart a great deal of information about the center and tutor position requirements. The conflict and tension of these two goals tend to be reflected and created through the discourse strategies employed by the participants in the tutor training sessions. This study looks closely at these interactional moves and shows how the strategies that work towards achieving the goal of interaction tend to be overshadowed by those that are more consistent with explicit instruction.

Introduction

Universities in the United States often offer students struggling in a subject the opportunity to work with a peer who has successfully completed the same course. Some universities limit their involvement in such peer tutoring programs by simply matching tutors with students, while other institutions, like the northeastern university in this study, are more active in preparing students to become private instructors. The purpose of this research is to examine the discourse strategies employed in the training sessions for undergraduate peer tutors and, in particular, to look closely at the effects these strategies are having on the tutor participation levels during the sessions. High levels of participation is a primary goal of the trainer. As the staff explained, it is important for the tutors to engage in discussions and ask questions during the training sessions because the job they are taking on is an interactive one. A second goal, and one that seems to be in conflict with the first, is to impart a great deal of information about the tutoring center and the responsibilities of a new tutor. Each of these goals calls for different, almost competing, discourse strategies. The findings of this study suggest that while interaction among the participants is a stated primary goal for the trainer, the strategies which he employs to encourage the tutors to interact and participate in discussions are often overridden by

strategies that disengage them.

This research was developed in response to the explicit concerns of the tutoring center staff that the new tutors were not only minimally participating in the training sessions, but they were also not absorbing the information. In addition to working on interpersonal skills, the staff contended that the training sessions were opportunities for the staff to get feed back from the tutors. A lack of engagement on the part of the new tutors, the staff contends, may hinder the Center from achieving their educational and professional goals in holding these sessions.

In determining what linguistic factors might be affecting the involvement level of the tutors, two main areas are focused on in this study. First, the discourse strategies that the participants (the trainer and a number of tutors) employ in the peer tutor training sessions to express and manage their positions and status relationships in their interactions are identified. Second, the ways that these strategies influence the tutors' involvement in the conversations are explored in depth.

When the trainer employs a strategy, he is indicating the relationship he would like to have with the tutors as well as hinting to the tutors what kind of contributions they should make to the on-going discourse. The orchestration of these cues by the trainer (by means of the discourse strategies discussed here) tends to perpetuate asymmetrical social relationships among the participants. As will be shown, the cues offered by the trainer to engage the tutors in conversation are in conflict with at least one of the goals of the training sessions, explicit instruction. Specifically, the trainer opens the floor for discussion, but keeps tight control over the conversation and its outcomes. It is challenging at best for the tutors first to recognize the goal of the interaction from the cues and second to know how to participate. In the end, the form of the interaction may influence the level of effectiveness of the training sessions.

Theoretical Framework

Much of the work presented in this paper is grounded in the approach to discourse analysis referred to as interactional sociolinguistics. Based on the contributions of Gumperz (1982) and Goffman (1981), this approach encourages a close analysis of utterances as they reflect and create meaning within their context. In other words, this approach sees context not only as a place where language is situated but also as an entity that is socially created through language. The focus of this analysis of training sessions is on the means by which the speakers, particularly the trainer, manage their positions in the interactions and how the participants are made aware of and co-construct these positions. Throughout their negotiation of roles and positions in their interactions, the participants in this study are ultimately structuring and continuously restructuring the context of their talk. As maintained by both Gumperz and Goffman, this construction is far from random. Rather, it is a systematic process which is accomplished through the contributions of all participants in face-to-face interactions.

In order for there to be involvement in a conversation, the participants must

share linguistic and socio-cultural knowledge (Gumperz 1982). Individuals call on this knowledge to interpret what is going on in an interaction. Participants also rely on hints from others to inform them of how to react and pursue their communicative goal. Gumperz (1982) calls these hints contextualization cues and defines them as "surface features of message forms... by which speakers signal and listeners interpret what the activity is, how semantic content is to be understood and how each sentence relates to what precedes or follows" (1982:131). In other words, without recognizing where an utterance came from, where it's going, and how it fits into the interaction, it cannot really be understood (Gumperz, et. al. 1984 as summarized by Tannen 1989).

'Footing' is a concept used in looking at how participants are involved in particular social interactions (Goffman 1981). In shifting their footing during talk, speakers convey messages as to their position or stance towards the talk, their interlocutors, themselves, and so on. These shifts function as cues to the hearer as to the direction the talk is going and the shape it is taking.

Shifts in footing occur when a speaker alters their role(s) in an interaction (Goffman 1991). These may occur at any point including within a speaker's same turn. Shifts serve a variety of functions in interactions and are context dependent. In his study on news interviews, Clayman (1992) suggests that footing shifts work in that context to maintain neutrality. Schiffrin (1990), in her work on conflict talk, discusses changes in footing among interlocutors as a strategy for supporting an argument position. Specifically, she says that the shift moves the focus from a proposition's truth to the speaker's sincerity, making it more difficult for their opponent to challenge. Pomerantz (1984) uses examples of footing shifts to show ways individuals deal with performing sensitive actions.

Work on dispreferred responses has been useful in identifying status decreasing moves on the part of the trainer (Pomerantz 1984). Status decreasing moves, such as hedging and using inclusive pronouns, generally suggest to a speaker's interlocutors an interest in developing or creating rapport or co-membership. Interlocutors will avoid giving a response that would be counter to what is expected or the norm for a particular context. This avoidance of dispreferred response suggests the same interest in maintaining positive relations.

Works by Edelsky (1993) and Maynard (1991) also contribute greatly to this research and were valuable in identifying status increasing strategies. Status increasing strategies suggest to interlocutors an interest in creating social distance and, even more, a desire to assert authority, superiority, or power. In what began as a gender and language study, Edelsky presents the issue of floor. She discusses the importance of turn length and topic control, and examines how these affect the flow and outcome of the interaction. Maynard discusses asymmetry in professional discourse between the professional and their client. In perspective display series (PDS), a discourse pattern identified by Maynard, the professional controls the direction of talk by ignoring or minimally responding to the contributions of the other participant. All of these tools are instrumental to this analysis.

Methods

The tutoring center where this research took place offers a variety of academic support services to all enrolled undergraduate students. These services include assistance with learning strategies, individual peer tutoring, group tutoring, and a variety of other scheduled tutoring events. The peer tutors hired by the university are required to attend one two-hour "New Tutor Training" session before they begin meeting with students. Additional training sessions are held throughout the year.

The data for this study comes from three of these "New Tutor Training" sessions, which were led by the same trainer, John[1], but attended by different tutors. The sessions were all audio taped with the verbal consent of the participants. After the tapes were made, the corpus of data for this project was limited to nine individual conversations from the sessions. All of these conversations occurred after the groups watched video skits of meetings between tutors and students. These discussions were also selected as the focus of the study because, according to the trainer, these were the most interactive parts of the training sessions.

In addition to the audio recording, a number of qualitative methods were employed both during the sessions and after. I attended all of the trainings and took field notes. Though I was occasionally addressed in the sessions by the trainer, my participation was kept to a minimum in an effort to avoid influencing the interactions. I also conducted an interview with the trainer, John, after the tape recordings were made. John was asked about the sessions and his impressions of the interactions and participation of the tutors in the conversations mentioned above. This interview was extremely informative and offered an additional perspective of the interactional patterns as well as an understanding of how at least this participant is framing himself in the sessions. It was also crucial in the study because at the end of the interview, after recording his perspectives of the tutoring sessions, I presented and received feedback on my preliminary findings.

Data Analysis

Status decreasing strategies

The first set of strategies are those the trainer uses seemingly in attempt to reduce status differences in the interactions. These may be considered involvement cues for the tutors. By placing himself at a more equal status with the tutors, the trainer encourages them to be more involved in interaction. These status decreasing strategies include footing shifts (Goffman 1981) and the mitigation of dispreferred responses (Pomerantz 1984). When the trainer, John, shifts footing, he distances himself from the advice or requests he is offering to the group. In other words, he places the responsibility for the thoughts and or words he is expressing on other parties and positions himself more as an equal or peer of the

[1] All names used in this paper are pseudonyms.

tutors. Mitigation of dispreferred responses occurs when there is disagreement in the conversation. John employs various strategies in initiating dispreferred responses, again, seemingly to keep status differences minimal.

Shifts in footing

There are various roles that speakers and hearers play in talk (Goffman 1981). In the production of talk, there are the roles of animator, author, principal, and figure. The animator is the one who produces the utterance. The author is the one who originated the words or beliefs. The principal is the one whose beliefs or position is being expressed. The figure is the person whom the talk is about. A vivid example which I find useful in illustrating how these roles may be played out is a courtroom. The animator is the assistant defense attorney who is talking for the principal, or the defendant, and is reading the words of the author, the defense attorney who wrote the defense but was unable to be in court, and the figure is the other possible perpetrator talked about in the defense argument to cast doubt on the guilt of the defendant.

In the data used for this study, John frequently shifts away from principal. In other words, he places responsibility for a thought or suggestion on a non-present other. In the majority of the cases, the change of footing appears to be an effort to reduce status difference. In other words, through pronoun use, the naming of others, and hypothetical and real quotes, John reduces his status from a position of expert, or one who has information the others need, to one who is on the same status level (and on the same side) as the tutors.

The following is an example of a footing change. It occurs when John names another as responsible for what he is expressing. In the excerpt, he claims that it is the video that is encouraging students to work together. Underlining in all excerpts are the highlights for analysis. See Appendix A for transcription conventions.

(1)
a. John: u:m and (.) in fact one of the things the points the video tries to make is
b. also having these people do homework together outside of the class outside of the
c. tutoring session and it can kind of help

In line (a), John points to the video as the principal. He offers his opinion of the suggestion in (c), but does so in a rather mitigated way with "kind of." It is possible that either John recognizes the weightiness of the suggestion and does not want to be held responsible for making it, or he wants to reduce his status as the authority at that moment. In either case, the shift works to reduce his affiliation with the idea.

Another shift away from principal is through paraphrasing or predicting what the others in the group are thinking. Within his turns, John will offer a hypothetical quote, or something that the tutors might say in a particular situation (as opposed to something that a tutor has actually said). This seems to function in different ways depending on the place it occurs in the interaction. For the most part, it seems to be used as a solidarity building mechanism where he is showing the tutors that

he understands what they are going through. At times, though, it seems to function as a way of reestablishing expert status. This latter function will be explored in greater detail in a later section.

In the next excerpt, John is vocalizing criticism of one of the skits in the video. In the skit, the tutor encourages the students to work on their own. John uses the ideas of other tutors who have seen the video to both place responsibility for the negative assessment on others and to offer support for his assertion that tutors should be very involved in their student's learning.

(2)
a. John: and some people'll complain and have said you know (.) actually it really
b. looks like the tutor's it's a great scam for the tutor the tutor's making their
c. money and they're telling these guys to go study together and I'll meet
d. with you and so and and a couple of people have said why do they even
e. have a tutor because the the level of involvement the tutor had and wanted
f. them to study by themselves based upon what the tutor did so just another
g. example of how (.) ya know it's important that (.) uh tutors are involved

In (a-d) and (d-e) John explicitly states that he is relaying someone else's message. Initially it may seem that in (a-d) and (e) John is also shifting away from the role of author as well as principal. In actuality, however, he is not. The quotes are paraphrases rather than direct. Thus, they are his words, but not his ideas. In (e-f) he rationalizes their opinions, but does not advocate for their positions himself. In (g) he then justifies making the utterances, but still refrains from making a strong commitment to the expressions in (a-d) and (d-e).

In an interview, John said that he does some things such as talk about his interest in baseball and have everyone introduce themselves in the beginning to try to make the atmosphere informal. Later in that interview, John and I discussed some of the strategies presented above. He agreed with the suggestion that he shifts principal to both separate himself from some of the information he is presenting (lines b and e) and to show more camaraderie with the tutors.

(3)
a. John: you know (.) I am very aware of the I and we thing you know? 'cause a lot
b. of time I don't want to be associated with some of the stuff (.) you know
c. they tell me in the office you have to talk about time sheet they're not
d. doing their time sheets right' and stuff and like the a lot some of the things
e. are just crap you know? and I don't want to be held responsible

In sum, John employs some shifting strategies to work towards a status equal interaction. He will, for example, attribute an idea to another and/or include quotes to shift away from the principal role and place responsibility for the contribution elsewhere. John's changes in footing most often function to reduce his commitment to the advice or opinions given in the discussions and thus suggest a more symmetrical relationship with the tutors. His distancing seems to be a cue that he wishes to identify more with those attending the session and, perhaps, engage in more peer talk.

Dispreferred responses

In her study of preferred and dispreferred responses to statements of assessment, Pomerantz (1984) asserts that a speaker will construct their turn differently according to whether they are responding in the way the previous speaker would favor or not. When a speaker agrees and an agreement is the preferred response they may offer the same evaluation, an upgrade, or a downgrade. For example, if two people are looking at a painting and one says that they like the painting, the second can either say that they also like the painting (same evaluation), that they not only like the painting, but think that it is the most beautiful painting in the world (upgrade), or that they think it is just not bad (downgrade). When a speaker disagrees and an agreement is the preferred response, they may delay a response and/or agree and then disagree within the same turn. Avoiding dispreferred responses tends to function to decrease status differences among interlocutors. Most often, in the context of the training sessions, positive feedback, agreement, is considered to be the preferred response to a given statement, and disagreement is the dispreferred.

The following excerpt is an example of a short filler, or an utterance in speech that contains no propositional content (e.g. um, er, uh). In this interaction, John, who was asking what the tutors would do once they got their e-mailed assignment, was looking for the answer given by Matt in line (h), not the one give by Adam in line (d).

(4)
a. John: what do you think you would do (.) um (.) when you receive this e-mail (.)
b. other than calling the tutee what what would you do with this message
c. itself
d. Adam: reply same thing
e. John: u:h (.) no I wouldn't reply actually because you're replying actually to our
f. office
g. and it's just we're not gonna you know just send them something back
h .Matt: print it
i. John: print it out (.) print this thing out keep a hard copy of it (.) that's a good
j. idea

In line (e-f), Jim precedes his disagreement with Adam's statement in line (d), a dispreferred response, with the filler 'uh.' This delay suggests that John is more or less reluctant to disagree and he continues in his turn with an explanation for his disagreement. This status decreasing move seems to be countered, however, in his next turn. In his response to the preferred response, John repeats Matt's words and evaluates the answer as "a good idea." (line h-i) In this context, based on the observation that John has elicited the same response in all his tutoring sessions, this positive feedback may be considered a status increasing move. In other words, John is not gaining any new information; rather, he is praising a tutor for giving an answer he already knew.

Another strategy used is to agree before disagreeing with the previous position (Pomerantz 1984). In such agreement-plus-disagreement turns, the disagreements

themselves are not very strong. This was often the case in the tutor training sessions. In excerpt 5, the trainer first validates the tutor's contributions by aligning them with others who have agreed with or previously made the same statement. By strategically separating himself from those who agree with the statement, the trainer sets up the opportunity to contradict.

(5)
a. John: remember? (..) what time they were going to get together on Sunday
b. evening?
c. Jane: seven
d. John: we:ll (.) actually that's what you would assume /she said/ (.) but actually
e. she said sevenish

After expressing understanding of why Jane answered the way she did (line d), John disagrees with a statement that detaches himself personally from the dispreferred response. In other words, he places blame for the disagreement some place else (line e). He suggests that her answer is one that would generally be agreed upon, then gives a quote from the tape. By avoiding a direct criticism or negative evaluation of Jane's response, John manages a more status equal position between himself and the tutor.

The following, segment 6, is another example of the agreement-plus-disagreement strategy in which John strongly agrees with Sarah's contribution (line c) then partially disagrees (line d). In this segment, the trainees were asked to identify from a numbered list what kind of strategies the tutor in the video employed in the segment.

(6)
a. Sarah: okay (.) four?
b. John: number four (.) having the tutee explain it to the tutor kind of what we call
c. talk about the Socratic method (.) definitely and in fact (.) a lot of people
d. say we:ll actually you know it's kind of question two (.) too

When asked about how he handles a comment he does not agree with, John said he avoids directly rejecting the contribution. In the interview he suggested that tutors would be "put off" if he did (line f). Since he wants to keep them engaged (lines f-g) and in alignment (line j) with what he is presenting, he does not want to say they are wrong.

(7)
a. John: yeah it's funny (.) even when people'll say things wrong I don't say that's
b. wrong
c. Tam.: why
d. John: I'm very aware that I don't (..) I don't like to tell them that they're wrong
e. I don't want to put them off you know? and I don't I don't want them to
f. kind of get turned off to what's going on by having what they said just
g. kind of dismissed so what I'll try to do is try to have them look ya know?
h. (.) like I'll kind of say well ya know that's a good idea but ya know and
i. I'll try to get them on the right track

In sum, in the peer tutor training sessions, the trainer uses a variety of strategies in expressing dispreferred responses (i.e., disagreement) to some tutors' contributions. In the examples above, he uses fillers, places responsibility for the disagreement on another, and uses agreement-then-disagreement patterns. All of these strategies seem to be functioning to reduce status differences between the trainer, John, and the tutors attending the session. As he says in his quote above, he wants to keep the tutors involved, so he avoids certain status increasing moves such as ignoring or negatively evaluating an individual.

While there are a number of strategies being employed by the trainer to create or perpetuate a sense of equality in the sessions, there continues to be complaints at the tutoring center that the tutors are not engaged in the discussions. This may be the result of the use of status increasing strategies.

Status increasing strategies

Certain discourse strategies in ordinary conversation may be considered to be status increasing primarily based on the high value placed, by the participants, on those strategies (Watts 1992). These include introducing an accepted topic, giving information others do not have, getting affective responses, getting others to carry out an action, holding audiences' attention for narratives or longer turns, and controlling access to the floor (Edelsky 1993). Almost all of these are employed in the tutor training sessions. These status increasing and sustaining strategies used in the sessions seem to have a substantial effect on the interaction levels of the tutors. In what is perceived by John to be a very informal interactive discussion, there is actually rather limited engagement.

Control of floor

In the tutor training session, there is a noticeable asymmetry between the frequency and length of John's turns and the tutors' turns in the interactions. Not only does John speak more often, he also speaks for much longer periods of time. This move both creates and sustains him in a higher status position in the interactions. Another status increasing move is that, particularly in the discussions following the video skits, John initiates all the topics of conversation. In terms of engaging tutors in the interactions, when asked how he does it, John said that he asks provoking and often rhetorical questions and frequently calls on people he senses have something to say. In such situations, he clearly has control of access to the floor. He determines not only who can speak, but also who will speak.

The following is an example of both how John works to continue on a topic he initiated and how he controls access to the floor. This piece comes from the middle of a conversation about the second video skit shown in the sessions.

(8)
a. John: so a good thing one good thing she did was she was helping them think
b. about the future a little bit (..) and actually that is one thing we tell you get

c. a syllabus for the course so you have an idea where it's heading a lot of
d. them are on line now so you can go to the web site Jodi you've been
e. relatively silent about this tell me something bad or good you saw in the
f. video
g. Jodi: um she should have tried to organize it mo:re

In lines (d-e) John identifies Jodi as someone who has not yet taken a turn in the conversation. After making this identification, he directs the general question he has been asking the group to her (line e-f). This time, however, the request for feedback is in the form of an imperative.

Jodi's compliance to participate in the discussion about the video clip suggests a collaborative move to sustain the asymmetrical relationship. In addition, the lack of interruptions when John takes rather lengthy turns and the tutor's general affective responses to John's contributions also support the notion of collaboration in creating the unequal status situation. It is possible that in this situation, the tutors offer affective responses whether they agree or not because John is considered a gatekeeper for their employment (Freidson 1970). Interview data from the tutors would be needed to explore this further.

Perspective Display Series

In professional settings, particularly that of the medical interview, in addition to the status increasing strategies used in every day conversation, there are often additional strategies employed to sustain asymmetrical social structures between the professional and the lay person (Maynard 1991). The pattern in which these strategies are used is the same one often used in everyday conversation to build solidarity. In other words, it is an involvement strategy in everyday talk. The pattern is referred to as perspective display series (PDS). In a PDS, a speaker solicits another speaker's opinion or position on a topic then reports or assesses the same topic in a way that takes the other speaker's response into account.

In everyday conversation, the initial invitation in the PDS is often considered a presequence (Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson 1974) or cautious way of proposing a topic. This invitation (both in everyday conversation and medical interviews) is either marked or unmarked. The marked invitations offer a hint and/or presume knowledge of what the response is going to be (Watts 1992). The question might be, for example, in the form of a tag question where agreement with the statement is often presumed. The unmarked does not make any such presumptions. In everyday conversations, if the respondent does not agree with the speaker, or they do not give the preferred response, the speaker will usually alter their next turn to maintain alignment. Maynard (1991) argues that in medical interviews, no such alteration is made. In other words, the patient's response has little consequence on the direction of the conversation. The result of this is that the physician guarantees that the conversation will end with the diagnosis or point they intend to make.

The participants in the tutor training sessions tend to employ strategies similar to those of the medical interview. Specifically, much of the asymmetry in the interactions can be attributed to PDS style interactions where the trainer main-

tains control of the topic and determines the overall outcome. There are a few strategies by which this is accomplished. These include reformation of a tutor's turn into jargon, giving little feedback on dispreferred responses, and taking turns unfazed by surrounding talk. In the end, John's agenda for the interaction is achieved, and, as in the medical interviews, these strategies work to reinforce the visibility of the trainer's own expertise (Maynard 1991:477).

The following segment is one of only a few examples of reformulation by the trainer. According to John, the area of tutoring really has few "buzz words." It is therefore not common for him to reformulate the tutors' responses. In this excerpt, Kara is responding to John's request for comments on a video clip. After Kara's response, John reformulates the idea into slightly more professional terms, "think about the future" (line d).

(9)
a. Kara: I think it was good that at least she had a syllabus and she was keeping
b. track of /?/ she was organized in that way
c. John: okay (.) so a good thing one good thing she did was she was helping
d.think about the future a little bit

The more common strategies used to sustain status are those used by John to control the topic and outcome of the interactions. When initiating a discussion, John will either offer a marked invitation or an unmarked invitation to the others to speak. In the following example, John is working to keep the interactions going.

(10)
a. John: um other thoughts about good things or bad things about what was
b. going on specifically anything? what did the tutor do? (.) I I guess you all
c. you think this tutor did a good job?

He first offers an unmarked invitation for the tutors' positive and negative opinions about the video (lines a-b). Before anyone responds, however, he tables, or puts forward, a marked invitation which presumes that the tutors have a negative evaluation (end of line b-c).

When asked about the interactive nature of the sessions, John explained that he intends for there to be discussion (lines a-b, h-i), but within some boundaries (lines d, f, g-h,j, k).

(11)
a. John: this is a job that's going to be interactive so I want them to start getting
b. use to being interactive early on
c. Tam.: mm-hmm so you want it to be very interactive?
d. John: yeah I mean, as much as possible within the realm of my guidance
e. Tam.: what do you mean (laugh) by that?
f. John: well (.) you know like I can't I just can't say talk amongst yourselves

[2] Vaklempt is a Yiddish word meaning to become extremely emotional. John's use here, as well as his utterance in line(i) "talk among yourselves" is a refereence to a parody skit on the television show Saturday Night Live.

g. don't get vaklempt[2]/?/ no (.) but like I I don't want to just say just talk
i. take and I wanna ya know have them talking but also want to keep it
j. there's (.) I can only I mean it's already a two and a half hour session and
k. I don't want it run on I have (.) so I have to keep control of it

Arguably, the asymmetrical relationship created through the partiality of the trainer to status increasing strategies discourages involvement. The trainees not only have little say or influence on the direction of the conversation, but also are often not clearly cued as to how they are expected to participate.

Sample Discourse

In this section, the research on status increasing and status decreasing discourse strategies are pulled together and used as a framework to analyze a sample piece of discourse from one of the tutoring sessions. The intent is to look at how the different strategies are employed to create and sustain the social relationships and thus an environment in which many participants are reluctant to engage in conversation. The discussion throughout the analysis illustrates how and where the status increasing strategies are woven into the discourse which supports an asymmetrical status relationship. The decreasing strategies used by the trainer do not seem to be enough to counter the effect of the status increasing moves, and the strategies used to create the high social status difference seems to negatively affect the tutors' levels of involvement.

In this piece of discourse, John, as explained in his interview, had the goal of promoting the idea that tutors should schedule regular meetings with their tutees. This is something that the tutors in the video clip did not do. There are various strategies John employs to direct the tutors' attention to this aspect of the video skit. He employees mostly marked invitations for negative evaluations of the video. When positive evaluations are given, his responses are minimal and/or status increasing and he offers more marked invitations until he finally gets the negative evaluation he is looking for. This is an example of how the cues (from the trainer) in the interaction do not match his goal (as expressed in the interview). His cues suggest that he intends to engage in a conversation, but he structures the interaction. In other words, as in medical interviews, John gives the impression he wishes to involve the tutors, but what they contribute really has little effect on the outcome (Maynard 1991).

This conversation began with John initiating the topic of discussing the good and bad aspects of the tutoring skit. He asks for feedback three times, one is an unmarked invitation and two are marked.

(12)
a. John: okay so um what did you see in that that you thought was good or not
b. so good? I mean if you were the person there would you have done some of
c. those things?
d. Jodi: this was their first meeting?
e. John: yeah (..) and maybe you might even have a beef with what they were
f. talking about at the first meeting

In line (a) John offers an unmarked invitation for the tutors' perspectives of what they thought about the video skit. He follows this with a more marked invitation in lines (b-c) that suggests a negative evaluation of some things on the video. Jodi replies in line (d) with a question about the set up of the skit and John includes this in his second marked invitation (lines e-f) in the interaction. The inclusion of some of the words used by Jodi suggests that they are collaborating in the discourse.

Kara responds to Johns request for feedback with a positive evaluation of the tutor in the video. She offers several supporting points to her position.

g. Kara: well I think she's very resourceful um (.) you know even things she
h. couldn't do she told you know the tutee where she could go to get them
i. like the old exams exactly you know other things that he has other options
j. and she's not limited to just tutor which is important because otherwise
k. I've had instances where they'd just rely too much on me and then they
l. they don't ya know they just expect me to do it but it's better ya know
m. when they take things into their own hands

Kara (line g) offers what in this interaction is a dispreferred response. John was presuming a negative evaluation of the video skit. Kara prefaces her response with a filler (line g) and follows it with an explanation for her opinion. She highlights exactly what was said in the video to lead her to her opinion (lines h-j), restates her opinion (line j), and adds a personal narrative to support her position (line k-l).

John responds to the dispreferred response with a minimal evaluation and makes another (marked) request for participation.

n. John: good (.) any thoughts on that? things specifically she said that you thought
o. oh I definitely won't be bringing that up? (..) no?

John evaluates Kara's response as 'good' (line n) but does not elaborate or expand on any of her ideas, as will be seen later with comments he positively evaluates. He then opens up the discussion to the entire group with an unmarked invitation for input on what Kara said (line n). Before anyone takes a turn, however, he tables a marked invitation for negative evaluation (line o). In this move, he also shifts footing away from principle, placing the tutors in that role. Thus, while he is sustaining control of the topic of conversation, a status increasing strategy, he is employing a status decreasing move.

Like Kara, Steve offers a positive evaluation of the video. Since John is indicating a preference for a negative evaluation, John also treats Steve's response as dispreferred.

p. Steve: um she made it pretty evident in the beginning like what she like her
q. boundaries /?/ with her exams.
r. John: so she she laid out kind of the ground rules /?/ about doing things

Steve in line (p-q) offers the second dispreferred response in this interaction with another positive evaluation of the video clip. Like Kara, he prefaces the response with a filler and gives a specific from the video to support his

opinion. Tim replies with a reformation of Steve's contribution using more professional language "ground rules," but does not elaborate (line r).

Erica then offers a preferred response of a negative evaluation of the video (lines s-t). Her criticism is in the form of advice. Tim evaluates this contribution, like Kara's, as "good," but here he builds on it (lines u-cc).

s. Erica: she was talking about /?/ she could've they could've set up a weekly thing
t. you know like a scheduled time or something
u. John: good (.) um uh that's something by the way that we really encourage you
v. ways to do and I have seen this work in the past if you tell your tutees hey
w. give me a call next time you need help that's a that's a really bad approach
x. because lots of times you won't be hearing from them until right before
y. the exam and /?/ important so it's probably a good idea to sit down with
z. them and say you know when can we meet and (.) kind of set up a weekly
aa. meeting time so they are kind of locked into that and if and if they need to
bb. change it the onus is on them to call you and let you know so that's my
cc. advice

Within the rather lengthy elaboration, John employs a couple status decreasing strategies, specifically footing shifts. In line (y) he uses the pronoun "we" to place the blame for the scheduling suggestion on a larger body than himself, the tutoring center. In the following line (v) he endorses the idea with his own experience but does not remove any of the responsibility from the tutoring center. In lines (v-w) he offers a hypothetical quote of what the tutors might say. The register he chooses to use for the utterances is one he seems to suppose the tutors would use. This, therefore, may be considered an equalizing strategy. The same, however, cannot be said for (z) where John suggests what they ought to say to their students. The use of the pronoun "we" refers here to the tutor and the tutee. He is speaking on behalf of the (good) tutors.

Notably, these status decreasing strategies are used at the end of the interaction. Prior to this turn, John has virtually complete control over the conversation. He initiates a topic and keeps the other participants on that topic throughout. By not elaborating on the positive evaluations and tabling marked invitations to participate, John manipulates the outcome of the conversation to the points he wants to make to the new tutors.

Conclusion

What the findings suggest is that tutors may not be involved in the training sessions because of an overt asymmetrical social relationship between the trainer and the tutors which tends to be limiting the tutors' participation in the training. The asymmetrical relationship is accomplished through a number of discourse strategies which raise the trainer's status in the interaction. While he does employ various strategies to reduce his status in the interaction and thus involve the tutors, these are not enough to counter the effects of the status increasing moves.

The strategies employed in the interactions function both to position the participants and to indicate how the participants should react to the contributions of others. As Gumperz (1982) stresses, participants need cues and to be able to interpret those cues to understand what is going on at any given time in an interaction. One of the problems in the tutor training sessions is that the cues given by John misleadingly indicate an interest in engaging in conversation with the tutors. He wants interaction, but as he expressed in his interview, he wants it to be within his boundaries. One of the cues in question is a marked or unmarked invitation to speak. This is the first part of perspective display series, which, in everyday conversation, functions as an involvement strategy. As in other institutional settings, such as the medical interview, John carefully controls the outcome, making the conversation lack the natural or informal feel that, according to his interviews, he would like to see in the sessions (Maynard 1991).

John explicitly states in his interview that one of his goals in the training sessions is to engage the new tutors in dialogue with him and with each other. He explains that the job that the undergraduates have been hired for is an interactive one and that it is important for them to be comfortable with that requirement of the position. The training session, according to John, is an important place for them to start becoming comfortable. One of the problems John runs into, however, is that there is a lot of information he is required to impart during the short two-hour session. If he encourages too much talk among the trainees, he will not have the opportunity or time to cover all the material they need as new employees.

The tension between these two goals of the trainer for the training sessions seems to parallel the tension between the status increasing and status decreasing strategies employed in the interactions. The status decreasing strategies encourage rapport building and the more relaxed environment in which the tutors can display their readiness for their interactive jobs. The status increasing strategies construct a hierarchy in which John discourages free talk and controls the flow and outcome of the talk. John is then in a better position to ensure all of the information that the tutoring center wants the new tutors to have is covered.

Implications

The implications for this research seem to be for the tutoring center and workplace educators in general. The findings of this research will be presented to the trainer (again) and to the administrators at the tutoring center. Using this information on involvement and distancing strategies, perhaps the center can reevaluate the structure of the session as well as the presentation of the material. If the center decides that they do want to encourage more informal conversation in the sessions, one possible suggestion would be for the trainer to work to employ more of the status decreasing strategies throughout the interaction and, in following, avoid strategies which may function as status increasing. Another suggestion may be to hold two separate training sessions, one to present all of the information and the other to discuss tutoring practices.

A second implication for this study is to add to the literature on status, power,

and language. In order to more fully understand how power and status structures work in our society, we need to be able to recognize how it is expressed and perpetuated in our daily interactions. As Maynard (1991) points out, "by first exploring the interactional basis of institutional discourse, it may be possible to better explicate just how power and authority are manifested within it" (1991:458). By focusing on the training sessions for new tutors and the developed asymmetrical social relationships between the trainer and the tutors, this paper has illustrated the power of discourse in interpersonal communication to perpetuate hierarchical social structures.

References

Clayman, S. (1992). Footing in the achievement of neutrality: the case of news-interview discourse. In P. Drew and J. Heritage. *Talk at Work*. Cambridge University Press. pp. 163-198.

Edelsky, C. (1993). Who's got the floor? In D. Tannen (Ed.), *Gender and Conversational Interaction*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Freidson, E. (1970). Professional Dominance: The Social Structure of Medical Care. New York: Atherton.

Goffman, E. (1981). Footing. In E. Goffman. *Forms of Talk*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 197-259.

Gumperz, J. (1982). *Discourse Strategies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Maynard, D. (1991). Interaction and asymmetry in clinical discourse. American *Journal of Sociology, 97* (4), 448-95.

Pomerantz, A. M. (1984). Giving a source or basis: the practice in conversation of telling "how I know." *Journal of Pragmatics, 8*, 607-673.

Pomerantz, A. M. (1984). Agreeing and disagreeing with assessment: some features of preferred and dispreferred turn shapes. In J. M. Atkinson and J. Heritage. (Eds.), *Structures of Social Interaction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sacks, H., Schegloff, E., & Jefferson, G. (1974). A simplest systematic for the organization of turn-taking for conversation. *Language, 50*, 696-735.

Schiffrin, D. (1990). The management of a co-operative self during argument: the role of opinion and stories. In A. Grimshaw (Ed.), *Conflict Talk: Sociolinguistics Investigations of Arguments in Conversation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 241-259.

Tannen, D. (1989). *Talking Voices: Repetition, dialogue, and imagery in conversational discourse*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Watts, R. (1992). Acquiring status in conversation: 'male' and 'female' discourse strategies. *Journal of Pragmatics, 18*, 467-503.

Tamara Shane Sniad is a doctoral student in the Educational Linguistics Program in the Graduate School of Education at the University of Pennsylvania. Her research interests include sociolinguistics, linguistic anthropology, linguistic ideologies, second language acquisition, and language and power issues, particularly concerning workplace interactions, education and training.

Appendix A

Transcript Conventions

:	(after vowel) elongated sound
?	rising intonation
(.)	a pause of 1/2 second or less
(..)	a pause of 1/2 to 1 second
(...)	a pause of 1 to 1 1/2 seconds
/?/	unclear utterance
/word/	unsure transcription

Literacy Development through Content Based Instruction: A Case Study

Nicole D. Papai

University of Pennsylvania

English Language Learning (ELL) students in the United States face special challenges for achieving academic success. In addition to the cross-cultural differences which may limit their understanding of the cultural norms and socialization into the larger US discourse community, these students can be hindered by their lower-level English language skills. This case study will discuss how one middle school teacher in a pull-out ESOL (English to Speakers of Other Languages) classroom uses content based instruction to teach English as well as to develop the multidimensional nature of literacy. His practice utilizes thematic units, technology and standardized achievement test preparation as means of increasing English language skills, technical skills and academic competencies to facilitate socialization into US discourse practices. Further, the discussion will include how the teacher rejects the idea of lower-level literacy capabilities of ELL students as part of his efforts to provide them access to academic success in the US.

English Language Learning (ELL) students in the United States face special challenges for achieving academic success. In addition to the cross-cultural differences which may limit their understanding of the cultural norms and socialization into the larger US discourse community, these students can be hindered by their lower-level English language skills. To facilitate their participation in and understanding of US society and development of English language abilities, they need to become proficient in all four language skill areas[1]. In order to at least have access and succeed in the United States' public school system and perhaps beyond, these students need to be able to read, write and understand academic texts as well as other varied genres from the major subject areas: novels, plays, poems, science lab reports, and math word problems. Additionally they need to be able to discuss and understand discussions within these content areas. Besides developing the four language skill areas, the students need to go one step further and learn the language and

[1]The four language skill areas refer to reading, writing, listening, and speaking.

norms that are used specifically in these subjects. In other words they need to gain communicative competence in the content areas by having an understanding of not only the words used, but also the style of presentation in texts (written and spoken). This paper will discuss how one instructor uses content based ESOL (English to Speakers of Other Languages) instruction to develop the multidimensional nature of literacy: language skills, technical skills, and academic competencies to abet socialization into US discourse practices. Further, the discussion will include how the teacher rejects the idea of lower-level literacy capabilities of the students, as part of his efforts to provide them access to academic success in the US. Before turning to the specifics of this discussion, it is necessary and useful (for the purposes of context and texture) to consider the relevant theoretical perspectives as well as to describe the setting in which the research took place.

Relevant Theoretical Perspectives

Though there is a tremendous amount of research related to literacy development in an individual's first language, less has been published as it relates to second language literacy development. The available research suggests that the development of reading and writing skills are similar for native English speakers and for ESL learners (Goodman & Goodman 1978:25). In both reading and writing, learners use their nascent English language abilities, "their world knowledge, and their understanding of print conventions" to understand and create written texts (Peregoy & Boyle 1997:32). As literacy is developing, both native English speakers and English as Second Language (ESL) learners need to learn the alphabet, how the letters form words, sentences, and paragraphs, which then are organized into stories, essays, and reports. (Goldman & Trueba 1987:112).

In addition to the traditional idea of literacy as the ability to read and write, literacy has a social dimension (Gee 1994:169; McKay 1996:427; and Street 1984:2). McKay (1996:428) claims that "successful literate behavior entails the ability not only to decode written symbols, but also to interpret these symbols against a backdrop of social convention." This is supported by Street's (1984:1) ideological model which assumes that the meaning of literacy depends upon the social institutions in which it is embedded. Furthermore, Gee (1994:170) claims that literacy has no meaning "apart from the particular cultural contexts in which it is used." Since school is a cultural institution, academic literacy facilitates the transmission of norms, values, and beliefs of the specific discourse community in which it is rooted (Gee 1994:169). Gee (1994:185) writes:

> "Members of a community use print to take meaning from the environment. How they use the knowledge gained from print are interdependent with the ways that they are socialized in interaction with peers. Becoming literate en-

> tails social interaction with those who know how to use a text to serve a particular social purpose.

These statements suggest that becoming literate in a US public school entails not only becoming literate in English, but in US cultural norms and values. An ESL teacher then, is not only teaching oral and written English, but is also teaching the discourse practices associated with the "standard dialect" of English (Gee 1994:189). Very often language minority students are at a disadvantage and are marginalized because of their cross-cultural differences in literacy practices (including the cultural norms of their particular discourse community) (Heath 1983, cited in Gee 1994:185). Teachers may see these differences as a lack of cognitive capabilities and have lowered expectations which in turn lead to stereotyping and perpetuating a cycle of subordinated roles for the language minority students.

Though there are many similar aspects in the acquisition of literacy skills across first and second languages, there are differences. One significant difference is the student's ability to read and write in his or her first language (Peregoy and Boyle 1997:13). Research suggests that strong first language literacy and education are significant factors in second language and literacy acquisition (Cummins 1981:12). Further, Cummins (1981:37) and others (Auerbach 1996:20; Edelsky 1986:14; and Williams & Snipper 1990:5) believe that literacy skills can be transferred from the native language and applied to the second language as second language literacy develops. This argument would suggest that the stronger the literacy skills that the students bring with them from the first language, the more transferable skills they will have to aid in the development of their literacy skills in English.

Krashen (1982:61) suggests that a second language can be acquired more successfully when the focus of instruction is on the meaning rather than only on the linguistic forms of the target language. Further, Doughty and Varela (1998:137) have argued that acquisition of language skills can be maximized when there is a focus specifically on linguistic forms when integrated within meaningful activities. This supports the idea that ESL students will be most successful when there is a meaningful use of the language such as through academic content, with attention to language forms (Crandall 1994:3). This is the definition of content based language instruction. The integration of language and content offers a means through which ESL students can continue their cognitive development while they are developing academic language proficiency in English (Grabe and Stoller, 1997:19).

Context

This research was carried at a middle school in Northeast Philadelphia over a four-month period. The community surrounding the school is multiethnic. At the time of the research, this fact was obvious when driving

through the neighborhood and was confirmed by demographic information. Though many ethnicities were and still are represented in this school, the largest ethnic group in both the school and community was Latinos (45.9%). This community has been characterized by school personnel as a "working poor" neighborhood with 86% of the children coming from low income families.

The class observed was a pull-out, multi-grade, ESOL class with only six students. The students' enrollment in this class is compulsory. The school district identified them as English Language Learners indicating their need for English language support and instruction to meet their academic requirements. The students in the class were at the intermediate level of English proficiency. The following chart provides information about the students' grade-level, gender, nationality, and length of residence in the US at the time of the study.

Student	Grade	Gender	Native Country	Length of Residence
Jane	7th	female	Ghana	2.5 years
Duoc	7th	male	Cambodia	4 years
Angela	8th	female	Colombia	1.5 years
Elizabeth	8th	female	Dominican Republic	2.5 years
José	8th	male	Puerto Rico *	2.5 years
Miguel	8th	male	Dominican Republic **	2.5 years

*José was born in the United States to a family where one parent is Puerto Rican and the other is Colombian. When José was three years old the family moved to Puerto Rico for eight years.

**Miguel moved to New York City before Philadelphia. He was in a bilingual program in NY for two grades, 6th and 7th.

The students in the class had had fairly stable educational backgrounds. All of them attended school in their native countries up until the time that they departed for the United States. Furthermore, according to the children, all of their parents are literate in their first language. A few of them also speak, read, and write in English. Both of these factors are very powerful influences within the contextual situations of the students, especially when considering their potential for academic success in the United States (McKay 1996:440). The students shared with me that in their native countries, all of which are developing nations, each of them had limited experience learning English. In all cases, the students' English language education consisted of learning and drilling vocabulary words.

As I mentioned above, this ESOL class was "pull-out" meaning that the students attended their content area classes with native English speakers. They were segregated from the native speaking students in order to get focused English language training. Since the content area classes are instructed by native speakers and are intended for native speakers, the ESOL students receive a great deal of English language input. Moreover, I observed opportunities to negotiate meaning in these classes as the students interacted with the teachers and the other students in multiple cooperative learning activi-

ties. The students seemed to understand most of the English spoken to them and were able to speak informal English proficiently. The language of instruction in the ESOL classroom was English and for the most part the students spoke English to each other. The only deviation from this was that when the Latino students were working together or chatting informally in the classroom, they would begin speaking in English beforeultimately switch to Spanish.

The students described their educational experiences in their home countries as traditional, teacher-centered classrooms. Throughout this middle school, the teachers strive to make learning more student-centered and there is an emphasis on cooperative learning groups and projects. This focus is possibly correlated with one of the interesting classroom dynamics I observed in the ESOL class. The students were extremely supportive of each other and were genuinely considerate of each other's feelings. They encouraged each other and for the most part, worked together without conflicts, even offering and accepting constructive criticism in a non-threatening way. This supportive atmosphere was a resource that I observed the teacher of the class, Mr. Grimaldi[2], fostering and building upon to increase the English language learning experience of these students.

Grimaldi's education and experiences have facilitated the development of his ESOL practice. As a child of immigrants he was raised in a bilingual household with parents struggling to learn the language and the cultural norms of their adoptive country. Grimaldi went on to study English and Spanish as an undergraduate and then earned a Master's degree in bilingual and bicultural education with a focus in ESL. Further, he has been teaching content based ESOL for fifteen years and has been teaching at this school for four years. Clearly these experiences have shaped Grimaldi's perspective regarding ELL student capabilities and literacy development as well as his own teaching practice. A major undercurrent throughout the discussion section of this paper is how Grimaldi's practice is a reflection of his perspective.

Method

The information presented in this paper was gathered through a variety of means. Participant observation was the main source of data collection as I tutored in the class twice weekly over four months. Student writing samples and instructional materials were reviewed and collected. Furthermore, the students and the classroom teacher were interviewed formally and more informally through casual conversation. The teacher was aware of and interested in facilitating my research. The research was explained to the students at the beginning of the semester, but they ultimately came to view my role as one of support to the instructional goals in the class. Because of the small class size, it was relatively easy to get to know all of the students quickly and comfortably fit into the rhythm of the class.

[2]All names of research participants in this paper have been changed to protect identities.

Discussion

Mr. Grimaldi once told me that he thinks of literacy as, "a multifaceted range of skills...reading and writing skills, academic skills and generally learning about the world" (informal interview, March 18, 1999)[3]. His commitment to that definition was demonstrated through his instructional goals and teaching practice. The following discussion will provide a description of how Mr. Grimaldi develops academic literacy (which includes but is not limited to reading and writing skills). Throughout this discussion, the reader will gain insight and understanding of Grimaldi's definition of literacy. This definition demonstrates his belief that it incorporates and integrates language skills, content knowledge, as well as developing critical thinking skills and a sense of agency. Grimaldi's vehicle for developing literacy in his ELL students is a form of content based ESOL instruction. Content based language instruction, as discussed earlier, is an effort to integrate language instruction with academic content, where the target language is used as the medium of instruction for academic subject areas such as math, science and social studies (Crandall 1994:3). Though there are many models of content based instruction[4], Grimaldi uses thematic units to reinforce content area knowledge in the major subject areas focusing on English language competencies in each of the four language skill areas.

Grimaldi provides each student with a checklist of general goals under each of the four language skill areas to be reached during the thematic unit. Under each goal there are a variety of generalized assignments (e.g., oral presentation, book report, model, group project) that the student can do to demonstrate over the course of the unit that they have reached the goal of using the content learned in the unit. From the very beginning of each unit, the objectives of the unit are explained to the students so that they have a clear understanding of the expectations (Turner, 1997:190).

In reference to his own expectations for student achievement, Grimaldi's has what many would perceive as a luxury, a small class that allows him to become familiar with each student's education and literacy backgrounds. Peregoy and Boyle (1997:4) and McKay (1996:440) stress the importance of teacher's awareness of the literacy knowledge that students bring with them from prior schooling and how reading and writing are used in their homes and communities. As was previously mentioned, each of the students had fairly consistent and stable educational experiences. Grimaldi claims that he recognizes these factors as strengths and tries to build on and expand the skills that the students already have to develop the literacy required by US schools and society (Peregoy & Boyle, 1997:12).

Drawing on and Utilizing Background Knowledge

Though he has a general idea of the activities within each of his thematic

[3] He is quoted throughout the paper with his permission.
[4] See Crandall (1994) for a discussion of the different models of content based instruction.

units, Grimaldi begins each with a chart asking "What I Know" and "What I Learned" (this question is for the end of the unit). This chart is commonly referred to as the KWL chart. Grimaldi uses it as a guide for his future lessons by discovering what the students already know, and what they would like to learn. In the unit on Harriet Tubman, the students generated a list of questions of things they wanted to know about Harriet Tubman and the Underground Railroad. Grimaldi compiled these questions on a sheet, and then provided the students with various forms of print and electronic media. The students selected questions and looked for the answers. Once they found an answer, they wrote the question and the answer on an index card. As a writing exercise about historical events, Grimaldi used the opportunity to do a lesson on the past tense. The students created a verb chart that was hung in the room showing several present tense verbs with their past tense counterparts. The students could refer to this throughout this exercise and beyond.

After all of the Harriet Tubman questions had been answered, Grimaldi compiled the information they discovered into a "reference sheet" that he provided to each one of the students. Over the course of the unit, as the students learned more about the topic, they could refer to their reference sheet as supplementary information. Further, the reference sheet provided the students with additional background knowledge; as they learned more information over the course of the unit, they could make connections with the facts on the sheet (Peregoy & Boyle 1997:238).

Reading and Writing

A significant component of each thematic unit in this class is reading. Reading is used as a basis for all of the other activities. The students read short novels, plays, scholastic magazines, and written pieces on the Internet. Additionally, so that they can increase their awareness of the world outside of their community, they are required to read newspaper articles[5]. Through reading activities, the students are developing their reading skills, increasing their vocabulary, and expanding their content-area knowledge (Grabe & Stoller 1997:9). Grimaldi helps develop the students' reading comprehension abilities by providing structured lessons on how to find the main idea, how to take notes by asking themselves the "wh-" questions[6], and summarizing what they have read. Through these lessons, the students break the text down into its smaller component chunks, noticing the features of each item (Heath 1983, cited in Gee 1994:188). They practice this skill repeatedly, eventually taking meaning from the print (Heath 1983, cited in Gee 1994:188; Irwin & Doyle 1992:72; and Peregoy & Boyle 1997:305). Reading also provides some of the meaningful input for the language forms on which Grimaldi would like to focus to maximize their acquisition (Doughty & Varela 1997:152).

[5] Grimaldi tries to relate current events to his thematic units. Sometimes, the theme may not be related, but the new language form will be utilized in the article to provide another meaningful context for the language form in use.

[6] who, what, where, when, why, and how

Furthermore, as is suggested through research, by developing their reading skills, the students are also improving their writing skills (Grabe & Stoller 1997:9; Irwin & Doyle 1992:15; and Peregoy & Boyle 1997:284).

Grimaldi requires the students to do several writing assignments throughout each thematic unit. He teaches them the components of specific genres and they practice them by writing book reports, longer compositions and reflection pieces.Through these assignments the students are practicing their writing skills, demonstrating the subject-area knowledge they have gained throughout the unit, and employing the language of the content areas as well as the linguistic forms that they have been learning. Furthermore, they are also practicing the communication style (language use and presentation) used in the specific subject areas. The ongoing integration of reading and writing, focusing on both content information and form, helps the student to internalize the means by which one constructs and demonstrates knowledge in English and in a US academic setting.

Vocabulary Development

Since these students are proficient speakers of informal English and are developing English reading and writing skills, it was crucial to help them build their vocabulary, especially as it related to their subject areas. Grimaldi provides experiential lessons within his thematic units through demonstrations and field trips so that connections between the terminology of the experience and the concepts in the subject area can be made. As he builds the students' knowledge of topics, he is also building the vocabulary at their disposal to read and write about them (Peregoy and Boyle 1997:301-302; and Raimes 1983:53). Rather than providing a decontextualized list of vocabulary words, this method proposes to use what Peregoy and Boyle (1997:169) call "language in use": experiencing the topic directly, building a schema for it, and ultimately learning content language in context. The students' understanding of a concept and the language to describe it develops through their repeated exposure to it in varied contexts. Furthermore, as they begin to internalize the meanings of words and concepts, the students may apply them in different contexts. For example, after learning about the dangers of panicking in the thematic unit on the Titanic, when asked what a good test taking strategy would be in a later unit, one student suggested, "Don't panic!"

Use of Technology

An example of literacy transcending reading and writing abilities and applying to all of the skills necessary to succeed in a discipline, is the development of technological skills (Rafferty 1999:22). Grimaldi is an advocate of using technology in the classroom, and interweaves its use throughout activities. He sees technological abilities as useful in academic settings to support instruction and in the larger society as we become more reliant on technology worldwide. Furthermore, as Elkins and Luke (1999:213) point out, being able to use and manipulate a variety of texts -including multimedia- is

taking the place of hands-on production globally. Considering the popularity with adolescents of "surfing the Web", use of the Internet and other technology in the classroom will help foster the literacy practices that engage adolescents and prepare them to be "citizens of the new millennium" (Elkins and Luke 1999:213).

The ESOL classroom was well-equipped with two desktop computers with Internet access and six laptop computers. When I asked the students why they use the Internet, they explained, "To do research." I was impressed that they had such a firm grasp on the benefits of and skills needed for using the Internet to support their schoolwork. They all seem very comfortable in performing searches on the World Wide Web, and understanding how to download information for their use.

The primary use for technology in this class, as stated above, was for research[7]. The students were trained in how to use Internet search engines to learn more information about the topic of the current thematic unit. The search engines are geared toward learners of different ages and different levels, are interactive and are also aesthetically pleasing. The students were sometimes asked to use the information they gain from these searches to make brief oral presentations to the class. Grimaldi supported these presentations by making or adding to graphic organizers (or having the students do so) of the general themes or new areas brought out by the students' research presentations. Furthermore, this was an opportunity for them to practice their oral language skills and discuss any new vocabulary. This activity was a means of helping the students to internalize the material, share it with their classmates, practice language skills and add to their content area knowledge.

Another example of technology use in the classroom is for interactive spelling tests. The computer said a word, and showed it being used in a sentence. The screen was cleared, and the student was asked to type the word correctly. The students enjoyed this non-traditional means for practicing their spelling and their keyboard skills. Moreover, the use of this type of program gave the students the chance to make visual connections from aural cues (Goldman & Trueba 1987:110).

A third use of technology in this classroom was to write in an on-line reflective journal. Grimaldi provided the students with a thought-provoking prompt related to a specific topic within their thematic unit, and the students wrote about it. The prompt was often something that had not yet been discussed within the unit, so the students were able to demonstrate application of their conceptual knowledge and language skills in a different forum and a different genre.

Standardized Achievement Test Preparation

Grimaldi stressed the importance of maintaining high expectations for

[7] Grimaldi allows the students to use the Internet to do research for their content area classes as well. They take advantage of this opportunity.

his students. As he states,

> "The students already know that they are different than their mainstream classmates. If we are to help them to achieve academic success, it is important to make them believe that they *can* achieve academic success in the United States, even as members of non-mainstream, non-native speaking groups" (emphasis added) (informal interview, April 27, 1999).

One way that Grimaldi demonstrated his commitment to high expectations is through his structured and rigorous preparation for the standardized achievement testing (an ad hoc thematic unit) to which all students in their grade level are subject. Grimaldi has communicated that he has heard administrators suggest that even though the ESOL students "won't do well on the tests," they will still need to take them (informal interview, March 25, 1999). He does not believe that because students are ELL and are unfamiliar with the tests, their content, or their format, that they do not have the opportunity to do well or should not be just as prepared as the mainstream students. He systematically provided the students with questions similar to the types that appear on these tests to familiarize them with the style and content. Furthermore, Grimaldi studied the sample tests to determine the common language utilized and used this language as the basis for lessons focusing on specific linguistic forms. They became accustomed to seeing the language within the test questions and were able to understand and use it to successfully respond to the questions. Moreover, Grimaldi utilized the content within sample tests to formulate activities. For example, he would provide a visual (and often manipulable) model of the math word problems. This served a dual purpose of helping the students gain a better understanding of the math concepts required for the particular problem as well as to hear (and see) the language of the problem in use. Each of the students was asked to prepare a visual presentation of one of the math or science problems as they understood them. Through this activity, the students needed to understand what they had read from both language and content perspectives and then be able to explain it to the teacher and their classmates, requiring critical understanding of the subject matter and functional use of the language (Crandall 1994:3).

Grimaldi recognizes the standardized achievement tests as part of the US academic tradition on which his students will need to do well to achieve in school, and he prepares them for this reality. Following the first round of tests that were given during my research, the students reflected on how they felt about their performance and the test in general. Additionally, Grimaldi asked his students to think about what strategies were helpful, which were not, and what they would do differently next time. The conversation was

more candid and critical than I expected[8]. The students were very comfortable sharing the difficulties they had and the level of stress that accompanied taking this test. One student said, "I felt in a hurry, like the teacher was going to say, 'The time is over, put your pencil down.'" The other students immediately chimed in with agreement of this expression of anxiety. Grimaldi shared his own memories of the nervousness involved with taking exams to add to the universality of the experience (Peregoy & Boyle 1997:78). Through this activity, the students were able to reflect on what they had learned in the test-taking strategy unit, and how they were able to apply the knowledge.

The opportunities for reflection in discussion and in writing are useful for many reasons. They provide opportunities to negotiate meaning, practicing the four language skill areas. Furthermore, the students have the chance to think critically about their understanding of the projects and the difficulties they encountered (Peregoy & Boyle 1997:314). They can apply the lessons learned to their future schoolwork. Each of these skills are beneficial for academic achievement in all content areas at all levels.

Developing a Sense of Agency

Grimaldi is aware that one of the keys to gaining access within the US school system is developing confidence in your academic abilities. As a follow-up activity to the reflection on test-taking, Grimaldi asked his students to create posters, using desktop publishing software, of the test taking tips they found most useful, to be hung throughout the school. Not only was this an authentic assignment that validated the students' work by making it public, it also positioned the ESOL students as experts (Brown 1994:330; Edelsky 1986:6; and Peregoy & Boyle 1997:198). Similarly, during the unit on the Titanic, Grimaldi's students each created an "artifact" of their choice (a game, a model, a computer slide show) demonstrating what they had learned throughout the unit. This was an assessment that allowed the students alternative ways to show what they had learned. These artifacts were put on display in the classroom and other (mainstream) classes and teachers were invited to come and peruse the "museum". The ESOL students were the guides, and were available to explain any questions the "patrons" might have about their artifacts or the Titanic disaster. For the museum, the students created a video of a newscast as if the disaster were happening today. Each student in the class had an integral role in making the video, without which some important aspect would have been missing. When the first takes were reviewed, they noticed that there was a problem with the lighting causing one of the newscasters to be covered with shadows. The students sat together as a group (facilitated by Grimaldi) to figure out how this problem could be solved, each suggesting different things to try. After, they tried the

[8] Grimaldi claims that it was typical of their reflection discussions and is probably a result of the comfort level established in the class, and their experience doing this kind of reflection.

ideas that they came up with to see what worked best. Through these assignments, Grimaldi is helping to empower his students by providing them with opportunities to be experts and problem solvers, to share their knowledge with each other and outsiders to their class.

Grimaldi's high expectations can be seen in his belief that many of his students are candidates for post-secondary education. Each year, one of his thematic units revolves around learning about college. Within this unit, Grimaldi discusses college attendance with them and takes annual field trips to local universities. He has stated, "There are a lot of messages that our kids get from within the community and from without, telling them that college is not a realistic option" (personal communication, April 27, 1999). Though he knows that every student (ELL or otherwise) is not necessarily going to go to college for a variety of reasons, Grimaldi believes that this experience gives them "the feel of a US college campus, and the knowledge that it *is possible*" (emphasis added) (informal interview, May 20, 1999). In other words, he wants to raise their awareness to opportunities and experiences beyond their immediate setting.

The discussion above shows the reader how Grimaldi communicates to his students that they have the abilities to be as successful as mainstream students in the US, despite implicit and explicit messages they receive to the contrary. He rejects the marginalization of language minority students by helping them develop the agency and skills needed to achieve academic success. Gee (1994:190) reminds us that ESL teachers are "gatekeepers", and without control over the discourse practices in "thought, speech, and writing of essay-text literacy and its attendant world-view", there is not access to power in society. Grimaldi's practice demonstrates his awareness of this fact. Recognizing that school conveys the culture in which it is embedded, Grimaldi helps his students reflect on and understand the rhetorical styles, technical skills, and cultural norms in the US.

The students in Mr. Grimaldi's class developed literacy abilities that extend beyond reading and writing in English to include a wider array of academic competencies. As a demonstration of their success and perhaps socialization into some of the US discourse practices, the students' grades in all of their content areas consistently increased over the course of the school year from mostly C's and D's to B's, C's and even A's in certain subjects. The development of their language abilities, content knowledge, reflective questioning, technical skills and general awareness of the world around them can be summed up in the following example. On my last day in his classroom, one of the students asked if she could stay during lunch. Grimaldi said she could, but asked why. She responded, "I want to look on the Internet to see what's going on in Kosovo."

Collaboration with Content Teachers

Though Mr. Grimaldi's class was successful on many levels, there were some areas that could be improved. The most serious of these was the lack of

collaboration with the subject area teachers. His students all came from different mainstream homerooms, resulting in approximately 20 different subject area teachers with whom Grimaldi needed to interact. Logistically it was impossible for them to have the time or the flexibility to collaborate on lessons or on student progress. Grimaldi recognized the necessity for collaboration so that his lessons could support the instructional goals of the mainstream content classes (Short 1997:231). Furthermore, collaboration would allow the subject area teachers to express some of the language difficulties the ESOL students have in their classes. Without this type of collaboration, Grimaldi could be repeating content already covered, or missing language areas that need more focused attention (Short 1997:231). At the time, he was fortunate to have a supportive administration that was willing to make structural changes to the current set-up to allow for the opportunity to collaborate.

Conclusion

Through the above discussion and vignettes the reader sees one teacher's systematic and integrated approach to literacy development through content based instruction. The use of content based instruction expands the students' conceptual knowledge base while teaching language through meaningful activities. Grimaldi provides his students with multiple literacy building activities including traditional forms of print covering a variety of subjects, technological skills and electronic media, experiential learning and opportunities for reflection which all support and enhance their learning in and out of the classroom. These are all non-static aspects of learning which interact and overlap to make a dynamic context through which the students become more literate on many levels (Edelsky 1986:158). Grimaldi's practice represents an interweaving of defining literacy as the ability to read and write in a language as well as the capability to be communicatively competent in a multiplicity of subject areas (Crandall 1994:4). In other words, this teacher facilitates his students' use of the target language to "apply this knowledge for specific purposes in specific contexts of use" (Scribner & Cole 1973, cited in Gee 1994:178). Moreover, Mr. Grimaldi's literacy development practices demonstrate an effort to promote socialization into, and access to US cultural norms and discourse practices (Gee 1994:169). By presenting this example, my hope is to provide a persuasive argument for the benefits of content based language instruction as an effective means for achieving the multidimensional learning of literacy in a second language.

References

Auerbach, E. (1996). *From the community to the community: A guidebook for participatory literacy training*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Brown, H.D. (1994). *Teaching By Principles: An Interactive Approach to Language Pedagogy*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall Regents.

Crandall, J. (1994). Content-centered language learning. ERIC Digest, January, 1994. *ERIC Clearinghouse on Languages and Linguistics*, Washington, D.C.

Cummins, J. (1981). The role of primary language development in promoting educational success for language minority students. In California State Department of Education (Ed.), *Schooling and language minority students: A theoretical framework*. Los Angeles, CA: California State University, Evaluation, Dissemination, and Assessment Center.

Doughty, C. & Varela, E. (1998). Communicative focus on form. In C. Doughty & J. Williams (Eds.) *Focus on Form in Classroom Second Language Acquisition*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Edelsky, C. (1986). *Había una vez: Writing in a bilingual program*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Elkins, J. & Luke A. (1999). "Redefining Adolescent Literacies," *Journal of Adolescent and Adult Literacy* 43(3). 212-215.

Gee, J. (1994). Orality and literacy: From The Savage Mind to Ways With Words. In J. Maybin (ed.), *Language and Literacy in Social Practice*. Clevedon, UK: The Open University.

Goldman, S. & Trueba, H. (1987). *Becoming Literate in English as a Second Language*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Goodman, K. & Goodman, Y. (1978). *Reading of American children whose language is a stable rural dialect of English or a language other than English* (Final Report No. C-003-0087). Washington, DC: National Institute of Education.

Grabe, W. & Stoller, F. (1997). "Content-based instruction: Research foundations." In M. Snow& D. Brinton (eds.), *The Content-based classroom: Perspectives on integrating language and content*. White Plains, NY: Longman.

Heath, S. (1983). *Ways with Words*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Irwin, J.W. & Doyle, M.A. (1992). *Reading and Writing Connections: Learning from Research*. Newark, NJ: International Reading Association.

Krashen, S. (1982). *Principles and practice in second language acquisition*. Oxford, UK: Pergamon.

McKay, S. (1996). "Literacy and Literacies." In N. Hornberger & S. McKay (eds.), *Sociolinguistics and Language Teaching*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Peregoy, S. & Boyle, O. (1997). *Reading, Writing, & Learning in ESL* (2nd ed.). White Plains, NY: Longman.

Raimes, A. (1983). *Techniques in Teaching Writing*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Rafferty, C. (1999). "Literacy in the Information Age," *Educational Leadership* (October). 22-25.

Scribner, S. & Cole, M. (1973).Cognitive consequences of formal and informal education. *Science 182*, 553-9.

Short, D. (1997). Reading and "Riting and...Social Studies: Research on integrated language andcontent in secondary classrooms." In M. Snow & D. Brinton (eds.), *The Content-based classroom: Perspectives on integrating language and content*. White Plains, NY: Longman.

Street, B. (1984). *Literacy in theory and practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Turner, J. (1997). "Creating Content-Based Language Tests: Guidelines for Teachers." In M. Snow & D. Brinton (eds.), *The Content-based classroom: Perspectives on integrating language andcontent*. White Plains, NY: Longman.

Williams, J. & Snipper, G. (1990). *Literacy and Bilingualism*. White Plains, NY: Longman.

Nicole D. Papai recently received her Master's of Science in Education from the University of Pennsylvania. Her major was TESOL. She currently is the head of the foreign language department at a charter school in Philadelphia, PA.

Information for Our Contributors:

The goal of *Working Papers in Educational Linguistics (WPEL)* is to present works in progress by students and professors on topics ranging from speech act analysis and classroom discourse to language planning and second language acquisition. Papers included in *WPEL* are generally based on research carried out for courses offered in the Language in Education Division of the Graduate School of Education.

It is our intention that *WPEL* will continue to be a forum for the exchange of ideas among scholars in the field of educational linguistics at the University of Pennsylvania and at universities with similar programs in educational and applied linguistics around the world. *WPEL* is sent to more than one hundred universities world-wide.

WPEL is published each Fall and Spring. The regular subscription price is US$ 8.00 per issue. Academic departments and commercial publications are invited to arrange an exchange subscription by sending the editors of this journal one copy of their working papers (or similar publication) in exchange for each requested copy of *Working Papers in Educational Linguistics.*

1.Submissions to *WPEL* cannot be under consideration for publication elsewhere unless permission has been granted by the other publications. In this case, it is the author's responsibility to obtain the necessary permission and citation. We ask that any *WPEL* article published elsewhere at a later time include a reference to *WPEL*. The individual authors retain copyright privileges.

2.Submissions should follow APA guidelines and must include an abstract of no more than 125 words.The methods section of any submission must be sufficiently detailed so that it could guide the replication of a similar study.Editors make every effort possible to ensure the accuracy of all citations; however, the final responsibility for citations remains with the author of each article.

3.Articles not accepted for the current issue may be rewritten and resubmitted for a following edition. A recommendation to rewrite is not a guarantee of future publication in *WPEL*.*WPEL* is not responsible for returning articles that have been sent to our office. Please, do not send an original paper, and do not send articles on diskette until asked to do so.

4.This journal recognizes the difficulty in using gender-neutral language. However, we are committed to avoiding the clumsy he/she construction and the use of plural pronouns for the singular antecedent. Therefore, we encourage authors to find their own solutions within these guidelines. All correspondence should be addressed to:

Working Papers in Educational Linguistic
Language in Education Division A-12
Graduate School of Education
University of Pennsylvania
3700 Walnut St.
Philadelphia, PA. 19104

Telephone: 215.898.3288
Fax: 215.573.2109
Email: wpel@gse.upenn.edu Web: http:/www.gse.upenn.edu/wpel/

EDUCATIONAL LINGUISTICS
READING/WRITING/LITERACY
INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION
TESOL

Courses:

Sociolinguistics

TESOL Methodology

Structure of English

Educational Linguistics

Second Language Acquisition

Language Diversity in Education

Multicultural Issues in Education

Classroom Discourse and Interaction

Language Planning and Language Policy

Social and Historical Perspectives on Literacy

Teaching Reading to Second Language Learners

Forming and Reforming the Reading and Language Arts Curriculum

For detailed program information, please write:

Admissions Office
Graduate School of Education
University of Pennsylvania
3700 Walnut Street
Philadelphia, PA 19104-6216

Internet: http://www.gse.upenn.edu/

University of Pennsylvania
Graduate School of Education

Working Papers in Educational Linguistics

Volume 16, Number 2 Fall 2000

Articles in this issue

Teresa Pica, Bruce Evans, Victoria Jo, and Gay Washburn
Teacher and Peer Responses as a Source of Negative Evidence to L2 Learners in Content-Based and Grammar-Based Classroom Activities
1

Oleg Tarnapolsky
EFL Teaching and EFL Teachers in the Global Expansion of English
25

Diana Schwinge
Standards, Exit Exams, and the Politicization of Bilingual Education: The Writing Exit Exam at Hostos College
43

Tamara Shane Snaid
Participant Framework in Tutor Training
63

Nicole Papai
Literacy Development through Content Based Instruction: A Case Study
81

102